

EVALUATION OF C.A.R.E.
(Community And Resource Exchange)

Submitted to
Robert D. Miller, Director, NRP/C.A.R.E.

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CURA RESOURCE COLLECTION

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SUMMARY

The Community And Resource Exchange (C.A.R.E.) Program is viewed widely as an important part of the mix of services available to Minneapolis neighborhoods. Its multiagency, neighborhood-based approach has durable and widespread appeal. It is evident that C.A.R.E. fills a need for struggling neighborhoods that face stubborn problems requiring coordinated action. Since its inception in the Jordan neighborhood in April 1990, C.A.R.E. has demonstrated much success, but the rapid growth in 1992-1993 brought some problems. This evaluation was requested by Robert Miller, the director of NRP/C.A.R.E., in order to provide information about how C.A.R.E. is working in this new, larger group of diverse neighborhoods. His request indicates a desire to improve the implementation of C.A.R.E. so it can do a better job of fulfilling the promise it brings to the revitalization of Minneapolis. We intend for this evaluation to aid in the evolution of this innovative program by stimulating thinking and focussing discussion.

Many of the current problems with implementation are a result of straying from the central mission: to work in partnership with residents and government in order to solve problems that require a multiagency solution. There is widespread inconsistency and confusion about the nature of residents' place in the partnership. Are they customers demanding improved services, or citizens gaining skills and information in order to handle neighborhood problems more effectively? The intent is the latter, but there has been a tendency for meeting facilitators, and government and C.A.R.E. staff to simply take care of problems reported by residents without including them in the resolution. Efforts must be refocussed to enhance citizen capacity and support neighborhood organizing. It would be helpful to list concrete skills and knowledge that are useful for handling neighborhood problems, and then working on ways to develop them.

The other essential part of C.A.R.E.'s mission is the use of a wide range of government resources to confront the difficult problems that threaten basic livability. This is a powerful way to use government resources. We found, however, that many of the problems brought to C.A.R.E. meetings are handled by only one agency. There are instances in which the variety of agencies involved is quite impressive, but in general C.A.R.E. has not yet reached the original multiagency intent. Facilitators and C.A.R.E. staff need to pay more careful attention to this when screening problems brought by residents.

An important part of C.A.R.E.'s initial success in Jordan was the establishment of explicit,

well-understood procedures for setting priorities and determining whether problems represent legitimate neighborhood concerns. Such procedures have not been replicated in other neighborhoods. This too often results in unnecessary frustration as the list of tasks becomes unmanageable. In addition, residents become distrustful in the absence of clear procedures for handling problems fairly and realistically. C.A.R.E. currently uses "set-up" meetings to address these questions with the staff of the neighborhood organization. These meetings are a good start and should be developed into ongoing conversations that guide and monitor procedures for handling problems. Ongoing systematic communication with neighborhood staff is a vital part of making C.A.R.E. work. Centralized guidelines could enhance fairness while still preserving the flexibility required for adapting to the needs of different neighborhoods.

Intervention coordinators, or meeting facilitators, are a key to the success of C.A.R.E. It is their job to set the tone of the meeting, maintain fair procedures, and coordinate the efforts of everyone present. They are the most visible representatives of C.A.R.E. Using government staff as intervention coordinators has often been successful, but there were also reports of problems. There is not a consistent understanding of facilitator's specific responsibilities, or the central mission of C.A.R.E. Confusion was apparent regarding the extent of their responsibilities outside of meetings, their relationship with the neighborhood organization, and responsibility for background work to understand the neighborhood. Regular, ongoing communication would alleviate many of these problems. The current training is useful, but it needs to be expanded to include conflict resolution, neighborhood organizing, and background on the neighborhood.

Difficulties in achieving widespread participation in neighborhood-based programs is a well-documented and long standing problem. C.A.R.E. is not an exception in this, though there were encouraging reports that C.A.R.E. offers a new opportunity for community involvement and helps develop new leadership. A survey conducted in the Lyndale neighborhood showed that 22% of the adults in Lyndale had heard of C.A.R.E. This indicates that working harder to get the word out about what C.A.R.E. is and how it can benefit residents is a good place to start to increase participation.

The two waves of expansion in 1992 and 1993 resulted in a strain on capacity of both the C.A.R.E. staff and local government resources. New hiring will alleviate some of the pressure on the C.A.R.E. staff. It was unclear to us during the period of this evaluation whether the Steering Committee, the body entrusted with overseeing the coordination of city and county resources, is

performing this task to satisfaction. It is a matter that warrants continued monitoring.

Relationships between C.A.R.E. and other agencies would be improved by more meaningful collaboration, which includes an invitation to planning discussions early enough to have an impact, and careful listening. C.A.R.E. does not yet make the best use of the knowledge available through nonprofit organizations, neighborhood groups, Community Crime Prevention/Safe, and others.

C.A.R.E. can be an important tool for making Minneapolis neighborhoods livable while improving the capabilities of its citizens to handle the difficulties they face in their own communities. All of the problems identified in this evaluation can be remedied, and in each area there were instances of successful implementation, indicating reason to be hopeful about the future. Increasing communication among everyone involved with C.A.R.E. is central to improving the program. In its short history, C.A.R.E. has demonstrated a willingness to take risks and an openness to finding creative solutions. When combined with thoughtful attention to its mission, these characteristics are admirable and will be an asset in finding solutions to current problems with implementation.

OVERVIEW OF C.A.R.E.

The Community And Resource Exchange (C.A.R.E.) Program was created in 1989 by the Criminal Justice Coordinating Committee (CJCC) of the City of Minneapolis and Hennepin County.¹ It was designed to foster partnership between residents and local government agencies in order to bring resources to bear more effectively on the problems of drugs, crime and the deterioration of overall livability. The Jordan neighborhood was chosen for the pilot program because it was identified as a neighborhood in transition, with increasing needs and diminishing resources. In addition, it had an active neighborhood organization, the Jordan Area Community Council (JACC). JACC accepted the invitation from the CJCC, and the C.A.R.E. Program was launched in April 1990. The Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) conducted two separate evaluations to assess the development of C.A.R.E. in Jordan, both concluding that it was a clear success.² Based on this, C.A.R.E. expanded into the Lyndale neighborhood in April 1991, and now operates in a total of thirteen neighborhoods plus one Minneapolis Public Housing Authority (MPHA) highrise. Several more new neighborhoods will be added in 1994. This fairly rapid expansion created a need to understand and assess how C.A.R.E. is working in these diverse neighborhoods. (See Table 1, p. 6.) Robert Miller, the director of NRP/C.A.R.E., requested that CURA evaluate C.A.R.E. for a third time in order to meet this need.

The C.A.R.E. program is an ambitious undertaking. It strives to serve neighborhoods with homeownership ranges from 7 to 76 percent, levels of poverty as high as 45 percent, populations spreading from 1,234 to 17,067, and varying racial mixes. It has encountered turf battles as employees of different government agencies work together for the first time. It has been called

¹ It is important to note that at the onset of this evaluation C.A.R.E. was a separate program from the Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP), but recently there have been staffing changes in anticipation of C.A.R.E.'s merger with the NRP scheduled for January 1994. This report addresses C.A.R.E. as a distinct program, even though this will soon no longer be true of its administrative structure. However, since C.A.R.E. retains a separate identity to residents and operates as a separate program, our approach is still relevant. The effects of the merger on C.A.R.E. are unknown and warrant ongoing monitoring.

²William J. Craig and John A. Holcombe, "An Evaluation of the CARE Program," December 31, 1990; William J. Craig and Pamela J. Schomaker, "Jordan Neighborhood C.A.R.E. Program: Results of Discussions with Neighborhood Residents and Government Representatives," February 27, 1992, unpublished reports of The Center for Urban and Regional Affairs.

upon to coordinate efforts to improve lighting, pick up tires, and close down crack houses. In its struggle to develop a new way for neighbors and government to work together, C.A.R.E. has found success. This endeavor ought to continue, even though its expansion into many new and diverse neighborhoods has brought some difficulties. C.A.R.E. has the potential to play a significant role in the revitalization of Minneapolis.

If the goal is to bring neighborhoods and government staff together in such a way that they deal with *pressing* problems and have accountability as an organizational component, that would be great. If the goal is to have a stronger neighborhood group with ties to the city and a city with a neighborhood focus, C.A.R.E. could be a perfect piece, but they've taken the bare bones and lost the flesh and the soul. (Government staff)

Still, there must be a skeletal structure upon which to build, and C.A.R.E. offers the fundamental pieces that can give residents a meaningful voice in the improvement of their neighborhood.

During a period of rapid growth unintended difficulties are to be expected. All of the problems identified in this report can be remedied with sufficient will, creativity, and resources. We hope and expect to see C.A.R.E. change in ways that will allow it to come closer to fulfilling the promise it brings to Minneapolis.

Table 1

C.A.R.E. NEIGHBORHOODS
Descriptive Statistics

	Date Started C.A.R.E.	Also Have NRP?	Total Pop.	% Pop. Under Age 18	Race %	Persons Below Poverty %	Owner Occupied Housing %
Bottineau	5/93	yes	1,234	26	W 93 B 1 I 4 A 2 O 1 H 0	19	76
Central	3/93	yes	7,632	39	W 35 B 47 I 5 A 11 O 2 H 3	21	57
Harrison	8/93	no	3,430	37	W 37 B 44 I 0 A 17 O 0 H 6	45	32
Hawthorne	5/92	no	5,999	35	W 53 B 30 I 9 A 5 O 0 H 0	21	30
Jordan	4/90	yes	7,752	34	W 64 B 27 I 5 A 3 O 1 H 0	13	52
Lyndale	4/91	no	7,012	22	W 63 B 25 I 4 A 5 O 0 H 0	17	17
Near North	11/92	yes	6,127	37	W 26 B 68 I 1 A 4 O 0 H 2	45	55

	Date Started C.A.R.E.	Also Have NRP?	Total Pop.	% Pop. Under Age 18	Race %	Persons Below Poverty %	Owner Occupied Housing %
Phillips	5/92	yes	17,067	33	W 46 B 21 I 24 A 8 O 1 H 0	34	17
Powderhorn	3/93	yes	7,752	24	W 67 B 19 I 9 A 5 O 0 H 0	23	34
St. Anthony- West	6/93	yes	2,291	11	W 92 B 2 I 2 A 4 O 1 H 2	11	75
Stevens Square	1/93	yes	4,549	9	W 74 B 17 I 4 A 3 O 1 H 3	25	7
Whittier	2/93	yes	12,951	16	W 64 B 26 I 4 A 4 O 0 H 2	21	11
Willard Hay	11/92	yes	8,465	35	W 28 B 65 I 2 A 3 O 2 H 2	20	71

W = White

B = Black/African American

I = American Indian

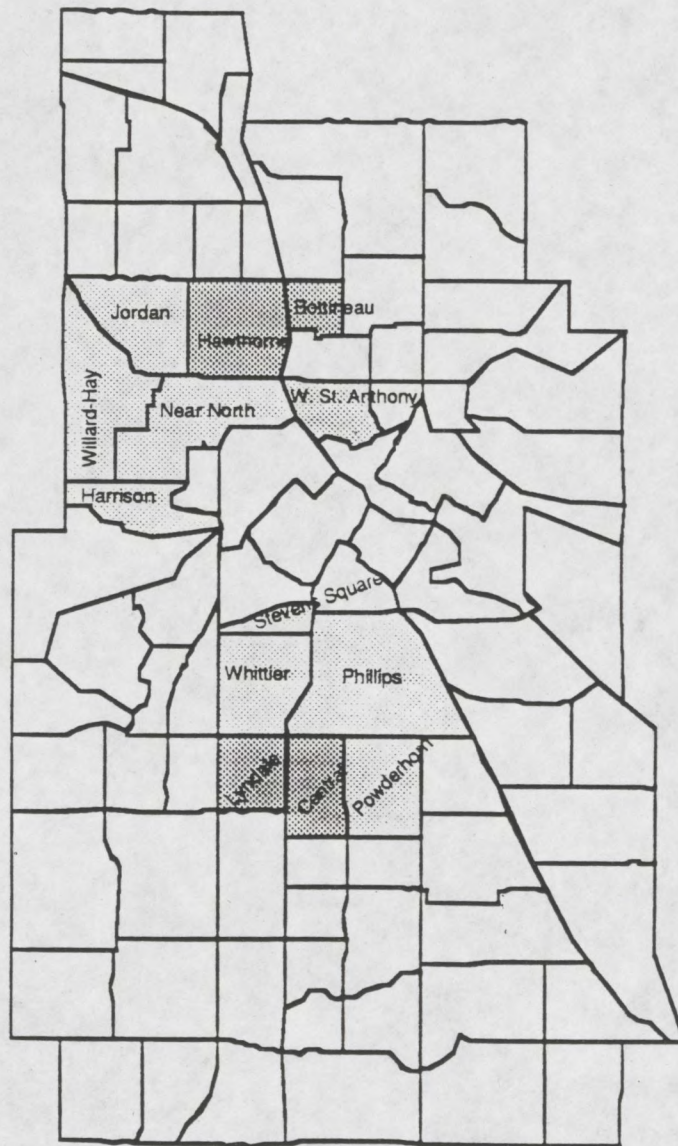
A = Asian

O = Other




H = Hispanic (Note: By Census definition, Hispanic is not a race but an ethnicity. Hispanics can be of any race. The sum of W+B+I+A+O=100%.

Data are from the Minneapolis Planning Department.

C.A.R.E. NEIGHBORHOODS



Neighborhood Type

-  CARE
-  CARE, In-depth
-  Not CARE

EVALUATION DESIGN

The request for information by the C.A.R.E. staff stemmed from an overall desire to find out whether and how they were carrying on the successes achieved in Jordan. The rapid expansion in 1992-1993 resulted in a widespread sense of concern that they might be veering off track. The purpose of this evaluation was to assess C.A.R.E.'s strengths and weaknesses as it now operates in all these different neighborhoods. The goals of this evaluation were to reflect the perceptions and ideas of those who are involved in C.A.R.E., as well as to provide a variety of data that augment and clarify those perceptions and ideas. Almost everyone we contacted views C.A.R.E. as a useful program that fills a need in Minneapolis. Because C.A.R.E. has demonstrated the ability to improve livability in struggling neighborhoods, it is very important that problems regarding implementation be addressed in a meaningful way. The recommendations that follow are only suggestions for ways to solve the present problems. There are undoubtedly other excellent ideas for improving C.A.R.E. We intend for this evaluation to aid in the evolution of this innovative program by stimulating thinking and focussing discussion. Since the purpose of this evaluation is to provide an overall assessment, data collection was designed to cover a wide array of information.

Based on identification of the key partners and available resources, three main areas were studied: people involved with C.A.R.E., observation of C.A.R.E. in operation, and analysis of existing C.A.R.E. records. The people who are involved with C.A.R.E. include neighborhood residents and staff, the C.A.R.E. staff, and city and county employees who work in C.A.R.E. neighborhoods. Intervention coordinators (ICs) are government staff who volunteer to facilitate neighborhood meetings, and they were also included. In order to understand and assess how C.A.R.E. is working, we observed staff and ICs in action at various meetings. The C.A.R.E. staff keep records of meeting attendance and meeting minutes to record the problems brought up and action taken. These were examined to provide an overall picture of attendance and use of agencies.

The evaluation attempted to cover both city-wide and individual neighborhood aspects of C.A.R.E. Since it was impossible for us to study all thirteen neighborhoods in detail, we selected four neighborhoods for in-depth study. In order to hear from a representative sampling, we chose neighborhoods that represent different lengths of time in C.A.R.E., varying levels of owner-

occupied housing, and different geographic areas of Minneapolis: Lyndale, Hawthorne, Central, and Bottineau. (See Table 1, p. 6; map, p. 8.) Study of these four neighborhoods consisted of resident discussion groups and examination of meeting minutes. In addition, a survey was conducted in Lyndale to find out about the general awareness of C.A.R.E.

People Involved with C.A.R.E.

-Six discussion groups involving a total of forty-one residents were held in the four neighborhoods designated for in-depth study. In Lyndale, Hawthorne, and Central, people were invited to separate discussion groups based on how many C.A.R.E. meetings they had attended. In Bottineau residents who were involved in both C.A.R.E. and the NRP answered questions about the differences between these programs. (See Appendix A, p. 32.)

-Government staff from agencies that work with C.A.R.E., are in the process of getting involved with C.A.R.E., or have knowledge about C.A.R.E. were interviewed. This included line staff, supervisors, and administrators, for a total of twenty-five people. They were chosen to reflect the level of involvement of various agencies. (See Appendix B, p. 65.)

-Intervention coordinators (ICs), or meeting facilitators, are also government staff. Twelve ICs were interviewed, and we observed facilitator training. (See Appendix B, p. 98.)

-A discussion group was held with staff from eight different neighborhood organizations that work with C.A.R.E.

-In order to understand the views and concerns of the C.A.R.E. staff, all six were interviewed, and three members of the NRP staff were also interviewed. Discussions with Bob Miller, the director of NRP/C.A.R.E., were also a part of this aspect of data collection.

-A mail survey to a random sample of 400 adults was conducted in the Lyndale neighborhood to discover the general awareness level of C.A.R.E. (See Tables 7 and 8, p. 29.)

Observation of C.A.R.E.

We attended the following meetings:

- nine C.A.R.E. meetings in different neighborhoods (including a Housing C.A.R.E. meeting in Jordan)
- one Rental Property Owners Group meeting
- one C.A.R.E. Management Team³ meeting
- two C.A.R.E. Steering Committee⁴ meetings
- three planning meetings for a prostitution sweep
- attendance at staff meetings was routine during the first two months of the evaluation

Analysis of C.A.R.E. Records

- The C.A.R.E. staff maintains attendance records created from sign-in sheets passed around at every C.A.R.E. meeting. An analysis of patterns of attendance for all the C.A.R.E. neighborhoods⁵ was created from these records. (See Tables 5 and 6, pp. 26-27.)
- The minutes from C.A.R.E. neighborhood meetings for the four designated neighborhoods were examined to determine how many of the problems addressed in the C.A.R.E. meetings were handled by multiple agencies, and how heavily the various agencies were used. (See Tables 2, 3 and 4, pp. 18-19.)

³The Management Team was established by the CJCC in January 1992 to provide overall guidance to C.A.R.E., and consists of the Hennepin County Attorney (as chair of the CJCC), a member of the Hennepin County Board of Commissioners, and a member of the Minneapolis City Council (chair). It currently meets monthly. In view of the upcoming merger of C.A.R.E. with NRP, the Management Team has determined that its role will be over in January 1994. The NRP Policy Board will then give overall guidance to C.A.R.E.

⁴The Steering Committee oversees operation of C.A.R.E. and is responsible for ensuring access to resources and coordination between departments. It is comprised of top level managers from five major departments in the city and county, and meets monthly. The following departments are currently represented: the Minneapolis Police Department, Hennepin County Economic Assistance, Hennepin County Community Services, Hennepin County Community Corrections, and the Minneapolis Public Schools.

⁵The attendance data for Jordan were not available.

During the course of this study other questions arose that we were unable to investigate. Some government staff who are responsible for jurisdictions larger than C.A.R.E. neighborhoods reported that their work in the part of their area without C.A.R.E. gets less attention. Are neighborhoods without C.A.R.E. being adversely affected by C.A.R.E.? Is the allocation of government resources being affected in a way that is damaging to some neighborhoods, or some groups of residents? Related to this are reports by residents and government staff that the best they have been able to do with some problems is to move them around. Is there a spillover affect that results in neighborhoods without C.A.R.E. becoming the home to problems that have been driven out of C.A.R.E. neighborhoods? The NRP/C.A.R.E. Policy Board and the C.A.R.E. Steering Committee may wish to pay some attention to these questions. Another area of concern that remains to be investigated is the group of allegations that some groups, particularly poor, non-white renters, have been unfairly accused or evicted, or get a label of being a bad tenant that follows them around the city. To what extent are these charges true? These questions been subject to heated debate, but it is difficult to determine what has actually happened without some kind of objective, systematic examination. Perhaps these questions may be addressed in future studies.

PROBLEM AREAS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The problems in implementation fall into five main areas: straying from the mission, unsystematic handling of neighborhood problems, inconsistency among intervention coordinators, the need for increased participation and awareness, and administrative and organizational weaknesses. It must be stressed that we found examples of successful implementation in each of these areas, indicating that successes could be replicated more broadly. The challenge is to create central policies and guidelines while preserving the flexibility required to meet the varying needs of diverse neighborhoods.

Straying from the Mission

It is evident that the multiagency, neighborhood-based approach used by C.A.R.E. has durable, widespread appeal. Bringing neighbors and government together to talk about problems with living conditions is a powerful way to get at tough situations that otherwise seem intractable. Clearly, C.A.R.E. fills a need in Minneapolis, and it ought to maintain its distinct identity. However, many of the problems C.A.R.E. currently faces arise from the lack of clarity and consistency regarding fundamental aspects of its identity.

The mission statement is as follows:

The Community And Resource Exchange (C.A.R.E.) Program is designed to address some of the most pervasive problems in Minneapolis and Hennepin County - drugs, crime, and a decline in neighborhood livability. In the C.A.R.E. Program, city, county, schools, libraries, parks, and community agency representatives *work in partnership with existing neighborhood organizations and community residents to intervene in problems that require coordination and cooperative action.* The C.A.R.E. Program uses this approach to improve the livability of neighborhoods and make them safer and more pleasant places for residents to work, live and raise families. (C.A.R.E. Third Annual Report, p. 1) (Emphasis added.)

The idea of building working partnerships is an essential part of C.A.R.E.'s strength, and has certainly been a key to its success. However, the nature of the partnership is not sufficiently clear. Confusion about residents' role in the partnership has become a source of frustration, and the emphasis on multiagency problem-solving has not been fully achieved. We address these two areas in turn.

Residents in Partnership

Residents who are involved with C.A.R.E. demonstrated a clear, often sophisticated

understanding of how C.A.R.E. fits into the services available to them. Government staff consistently reported support for this fundamental tenet of C.A.R.E.'s mission.

It is an organization created by local governments to facilitate for this neighborhood various resources that government has available to correct our ills and empower C.A.R.E. to do the coordination. (Resident)

The basic ingredient is that everyone wants to get something accomplished for the good of the neighborhood. (Resident)

Boundary issues have been broken down, and people work together now. People *expect* government agencies to be incompetent and unresponsive, but that attitude has changed because people (in government) are willing to go that extra mile to make C.A.R.E. work. There has been tremendous support by bureaucrats in the neighborhood. And the (C.A.R.E.) staff has a lot of knowledge, is willing to take risks and try things when others would just assume they wouldn't work. They give things a chance. (Government staff)

Concern and questions are regarding implementation. The C.A.R.E. staff emphasize that the essential characteristic of the program is its *way of doing business in partnership*. Now that C.A.R.E. operates in a larger group of diverse neighborhoods and is preparing to enter several more in 1994, the staff need to step back and reexamine their understanding of that partnership and its place in the overall mission.

While commitment to neighborhood residents as partners is expressed frequently, it is unclear what that means. Is the commitment to get a satisfied client, or a citizen with an increased ability to handle problems? Residents conveyed mixed understandings, but their confusion is understandable since they get mixed messages from the C.A.R.E. staff and intervention coordinators. What, exactly, is the residents' part in the partnership? Is it their job to simply identify problems and report them at meetings so government staff can direct their resources more efficiently? Is the information they receive from government staff intended to make them more articulate, increasingly demanding clients, or more effective actors in their communities? Both residents and government respondents reported concern about this.

Right now we're doing things *to* people and that kind of bothers me. (Resident)

The danger of C.A.R.E. is that people stop doing things. People just bring complaints to meetings. (Resident)

Empowerment is the ability of people to affect their own lives. Simply reporting a problem and getting feedback is not empowerment. More participation in the resolution of problems is empowerment. What is the responsibility of people after they leave the meeting? Are they learning tasks? Do they have a sense of responsibility? (Government staff)

It (C.A.R.E.) has changed attitudes but not abilities because government people took care of the problem. Residents were given information on how to follow directions given by government. (Government staff)

Yet, renewing and maintaining an understanding of residents as citizens is very challenging given that government staff are likely to view them as clients.

It (C.A.R.E.) puts staff in the middle of the neighborhood people, talking to the customer. (Government staff)

C.A.R.E. can help in neighborhoods where there isn't a good understanding of what the needs of our clients are. (Government staff)

In addition, residents themselves have differing views and desires about their role. This lack of consensus makes it especially important for the C.A.R.E. staff and ICs to have a clear, consistent understanding of residents as citizens learning to take action on behalf of their communities. It would be extremely helpful for the C.A.R.E. staff to identify concrete, specific ways to determine if capacity is actually being enhanced, or whether the residents are simply enjoying the convenience of "one-stop shopping."⁶ This can be done by listing skills and knowledge that are helpful in handling neighborhood problems; and then working on ways to develop them. Neighborhood staff, residents, and Community Crime Prevention/Safe (CCP/Safe) teams could be of assistance in this.

Related to this is the question of organizing neighborhoods. Clearly, this is not the responsibility of the C.A.R.E. staff. Representatives of eight neighborhood organizations who attended a discussion group all agreed that organizing is their job. At the same time, the skills and knowledge that can be learned in C.A.R.E. meetings ought to enhance the ability of people to organize block clubs, tenants groups, or other appropriate forms. The key is to support systematic neighborhood efforts to involve as many people as possible. It is in the neighborhoods' best interest to organize, and C.A.R.E. should take every opportunity to actively support these efforts. It is a vital part of keeping the focus on residents as citizens who are active members of the partnership.

Clarification about building citizen capacity may also help in understanding what C.A.R.E. can do to start making itself obsolete.

⁶One government staff respondent reported the following: "I have been shocked to see people who were formerly able to take care of themselves bringing problems to C.A.R.E. meetings to have other people take care of them." Even if this is an isolated incident, it should be heeded as a warning and considered a dangerous precedent.

I'd like to see that C.A.R.E. would no longer be needed but that neighborhood groups continue to meet. When it is no longer needed then it will be a success. (Government staff)

Simply put, C.A.R.E. needs to learn how to let go. Jordan and Lyndale are both functioning well and there should be discussions about how to begin to give more responsibility to the neighborhood, followed by careful experimentation. Some possibilities include teaching residents to take minutes, inviting them to attend planning meetings with government staff, and perhaps experimenting with resident facilitators.⁷ In the discussion held in Jordan for the evaluation conducted by CURA in 1992, residents suggested "deputizing" people to act as outreach for C.A.R.E. as part of neighborhood organizing.⁸ This is another possibility to be explored. Details ought to be worked out with neighborhood staff and residents.

The C.A.R.E. staff frequently describe themselves as brokers. This is a useful way to illustrate that their job is to make referrals and facilitate discussion, but that they don't provide resources themselves.

C.A.R.E. is an agent/broker that brings pieces together for creative problem solving. It is a logical concept of bringing resources to people. The neighborhoods are victims of the government process, which is top-down and doesn't listen. C.A.R.E. brings accountability. (C.A.R.E. staff)

This image can be used to further strengthen the understanding of C.A.R.E.'s place in the partnership if it is carried out to show that a successful broker oversees the dynamics of the relationships she sets up, ensuring that it functions smoothly. Following up on the satisfaction of all parties and working to enhance communication is absolutely essential to success. Being in a prime position to facilitate these relationships is a unique part of the C.A.R.E. Program that brings both great opportunity and considerable responsibility.

Multiagency Approach

Besides being neighborhood-based, another essential part of C.A.R.E.'s mission is using the multiagency approach to confront problems that are particularly stubborn or complex. The original

⁷It is noteworthy that without being asked about it, in every resident discussion group someone suggested that residents facilitate their own meetings, and the suggestion was in each case met with nearly unanimous approval.

⁸William J. Craig and Pamela J. Schomaker, "Jordan Neighborhood C.A.R.E. Program: Results of Discussions with Neighborhood Residents and Government Representatives," an unpublished report of The Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, February 27, 1992.

intent was for C.A.R.E. to make use of a wide variety of agencies, as appropriate for a particular problem.

The basic assumption upon which the C.A.R.E. Program is founded is that only through cooperative action which involves *a wide range of government resources* and the participation of community members can the drug and crime issues threatening the livability of neighborhoods be addressed. (C.A.R.E. Third Annual Report, p.1) (Emphasis added.)

This is an effective way to use government services, and a powerful part of C.A.R.E.'s mission. We found, however, that the C.A.R.E. staff and ICs need to pay more careful attention to this when screening problems brought by residents.

It makes sense that when a neighborhood first starts using C.A.R.E., there will be a fair number of single-agency problems until residents and government staff learn about working in partnership. Similarly, it is reasonable to expect that single-agency problems will never be completely absent from C.A.R.E. meetings. However, the data from the minutes of the C.A.R.E. meetings show that even in the Lyndale neighborhood, which has been operating since April 1991 and is considered to be an example of a well-run C.A.R.E. meeting, about half of the reported problems for the first nine months of 1993 involved only one government agency or department. Table 2 shows that one of the newest C.A.R.E. neighborhoods, Bottineau, does indeed have a high number of problems handled by only one agency, 68%. In Lyndale the number is lower, but is still 52%. In Table 3, residents and property owners who are actively involved in working on problems have also been included. The number of problems handled by one agency or party decreases slightly, indicating that in some instances there is active citizen involvement in solving a problem. This is encouraging, and should be expanded.

Analysis of the minutes also showed that the agency involved is quite likely to be either Housing Inspections or CCP/Safe. Table 4 shows that these two agencies handled more than twice as many C.A.R.E. problems as the next most heavily used agency, the Police Department. We also found that the variety of agencies involved, though in particular cases quite impressive, has not yet reached the original multiagency intent.

Residents and government staff frequently reported the desire for C.A.R.E. to address social issues through the inclusion of more social service agencies.

After C.A.R.E. has been through the police and Housing Inspections, they're done. They don't face the people who live *in* these properties. There is the breach of moving from the city to the county and dealing with people problems. Our biggest issue is people problems. (Resident)

It is undeniably true that the problems of crime, drugs, and the decline of basic livability are

USE OF AGENCIES BY C.A.R.E.
January-September 1993

Table 2

NUMBER OF CITY/COUNTY AGENCIES WORKING ON A PROBLEM

	Number of Meetings	Number of Problems	One Agency (%)	Two Agencies (%)	Three Agencies (%)	Four Agencies (%)	Five Agencies (%)
Bottineau	5	22	15 (68)	6 (27)	1 (4)	-	-
Central	10#	43	15 (35)	16 (37)	9 (21)	3 (7)	-
Hawthorne	9	64	32 (50)	18 (28)	12 (19)	2 (3)	-
Lyndale	14+	71	37 (52)	24 (34)	8 (11)	1 (1)	1 (1)

Table 3

NUMBER OF AGENCIES/PARTIES* WORKING ON A PROBLEM

	Number of Meetings	Number of Problems	One Agency/ Party (%)	Two Agencies/ Parties (%)	Three Agencies/ Parties (%)	Four Agencies/ Parties (%)	Five Agencies/ Parties (%)
Bottineau	5	23	15 (65)	6 (26)	2 (9)	-	-
Central	10#	45	15 (33)	15 (33)	7 (16)	6 (13)	2 (4)
Hawthorne	9	78	28 (36)	22 (28)	16 (21)	10 (13)	2 (2)
Lyndale	14+	75	34 (45)	14 (19)	18 (24)	7 (9)	2 (3)

These data are based on the minutes of C.A.R.E. neighborhood meetings kept by the C.A.R.E. staff.

#This excludes three meetings for which the minutes were not available.

+This excludes one meeting for which the minutes were not available, and one meeting which was a neighborhood potluck.

*The totals in this table do not match those in Table 2 because these include problems handled by either building owner/managers or residents. Note that resident responsibilities counted here go beyond reporting the problem and include activities such as making phone calls or undertaking systematic surveillance.

Table 4

NUMBER OF PROBLEMS ADDRESSED BY AGENCIES/PARTIES

	Number of Meetings	Number of Problems	Housing Inspections	CCP/ Safe	Mpls. Police Dept.	Bldg. Owner/ Manager	Residents	Other Agencies
Bottineau	5	23	14	7	1	1	2	8
Central	10#	45	35	25	11	8	6	16
Hawthorne	9	78	39	33	24	2	59	7
Lyndale	14+	75	45	40	19	7	27	14

These data are based on the minutes of C.A.R.E. neighborhood meetings kept by the C.A.R.E. staff.

#This excludes three meetings for which the minutes were not available.

+This excludes one meeting for which the minutes were not available, and one meeting which was a neighborhood potluck.

inextricably bound up with formidable social problems. Consequently, C.A.R.E. needs to evaluate its original mission and realistically assess what its actual capabilities are. C.A.R.E. should make the best possible use of its unique place in neighborhoods by providing referrals and facilitating relationships between residents and social service agencies. At the same time, it is important to avoid becoming bogged down by taking on more than it can reasonably address. C.A.R.E. should explore the School-Human Service Redesign Initiative⁹ as a possible place to refer social problems. Regardless of the specific path that is taken, what is of fundamental importance is the realistic assessment of what C.A.R.E. can do, and then clear, consistent, and frequent communication of those capabilities to residents and government staff.

C.A.R.E. promises the moon and can't deliver. (Resident)

They (C.A.R.E.) really need a clearly defined mission so people know what to expect. C.A.R.E. should admit what they can't do. (Resident)

⁹The School-Human Service Redesign Initiative is a collaboration of the: Minneapolis Public School, Robbinsdale Public Schools, Hennepin County, United Way, City of Minneapolis, Minneapolis Youth Coordinating Board, and Forum for Nonprofit Leadership.

Recommendations:

List concrete, specific skills and knowledge that are important for resolving neighborhood problems and create methods for developing them in residents, block clubs, and neighborhood organizations.

Begin to carefully explore ways for C.A.R.E. to leave neighborhoods by transferring skills, knowledge and responsibilities to residents.

Inform ICs and residents of the level of single-agency problems currently handled through C.A.R.E. and enforce more effective screening in meetings. Consider setting up a system for monitoring this on an ongoing basis.

Assess how social service agencies fit into the mission of C.A.R.E., identify realistic goals, and communicate them clearly and frequently to residents and government staff.

Verification and Prioritization of Neighborhood Problems

It is almost guaranteed that any extended conversation about C.A.R.E. will involve mention of the success in Jordan. There were probably many factors that contributed to this success, but surely one that was very important was the strong role played by the Jordan Area Community Council (JACC), and its well-developed block club system. JACC and C.A.R.E. worked together to establish explicit, well-understood processes and guidelines that both set priorities and ensure the legitimacy of the problems brought to C.A.R.E. meetings.

Having an agreement on procedures for determining which problems should be handled in a C.A.R.E. meeting averts the frustration that results when the list of tasks becomes unmanageable¹⁰ and prevents suspicion that the meetings have a vindictive agenda. In short, such agreements are necessary to ensure fairness and avoid overload. The procedures established in Jordan have not been replicated in other neighborhoods. In Hawthorne, residents decided against using the block club system because some areas of the neighborhood have proven to be very difficult to organize. Instead, they allow complaints to be brought by individuals. In order to make sure problems are legitimate, they have developed a simple form asking for background information on the complaint. This solution is appearing only after many months of unnecessary floundering and distress, and it still does not establish a way to set priorities.

This absence of guidelines for handling neighborhood problems damages C.A.R.E.'s

¹⁰The minutes for the Hawthorne C.A.R.E. meetings are routinely seven or eight pages long.

credibility. Residents reported distrust.

What makes the priorities? Some people's problems seem like priorities over others. (Resident)

We really don't know what happens after we give addresses. Maybe our expectations are high, but if we understood the process it would help. (Resident)

Right now the priorities are set by the facilitator and the staff person and *not* by residents. The priorities don't reflect the discussion. The minutes don't reflect what was actually said at the meetings. (Resident)

Centralized guidelines could enhance fairness while preserving the flexibility necessary for adapting to the different structures and conditions in various neighborhoods. We are not necessarily recommending that the Jordan block club system be implemented in every neighborhood. Even if it were possible it might not be desirable. However, it is extremely important that C.A.R.E. work with each neighborhood organization to develop and maintain a well-understood system for determining neighborhood priorities and making sure that problems are legitimate. C.A.R.E. needs broad central policies to develop specific procedures for each neighborhood.

C.A.R.E. staff currently hold a "set-up" meeting with neighborhood staff to discuss these issues before C.A.R.E. meetings get started in a new neighborhood. These meetings provide a good starting place for developing the needed procedures. Experience has shown that these initial conversations are inadequate for supplying continuing guidance, but if the conversations occur periodically as C.A.R.E. and the neighborhood get to know each other, they might be quite fruitful. This process would be further enhanced by regular meetings of the staff from all the neighborhood organizations that work with C.A.R.E. We found that neighborhood staff are eager to talk with each other, and generous with information about their trials, errors, and successes. Pooling their knowledge would be an opportunity for everyone to benefit from the learning that occurs in all the C.A.R.E. neighborhoods. It is a source of expertise to be sought and valued.

Another aspect of these central guidelines should be formal procedures residents can use if they have a complaint about how C.A.R.E. is operating in their neighborhood. C.A.R.E. does a good job of making sure that local government is accountable to residents, but there is no formal, systematic way for residents to hold C.A.R.E. accountable. The absence of such a system draws suspicion even if there are no grounds for it.

Has anybody checked up on C.A.R.E.? (Resident)

C.A.R.E. comes in as a freestanding group that isn't accountable to any other structure. Identification of problems doesn't have a process to make sure it is a neighborhood problem rather than an individual problem. In Jordan, C.A.R.E. was accountable to the process and it helped build community through the block club network. C.A.R.E. took the model built in Jordan and lost its soul: the community. (Government staff)

Establishing a system for ensuring accountability to the neighborhood would strengthen C.A.R.E.'s relationships with residents and government while reinforcing its credibility.

Recommendations:

Develop central guidelines and expand on the current set-up meeting with the neighborhood organization to develop procedures for setting priorities and ensuring the legitimacy of problems handled by C.A.R.E., being sure to include these guidelines as part of intervention coordinator training.

Hold periodic meetings that bring together the staff of neighborhood organizations to pool information and ideas about how to make C.A.R.E. as effective as possible for each of the neighborhoods.

Establish formal procedures for residents to voice their concerns about how C.A.R.E. works in their neighborhood (e.g. meeting evaluation, written venues, or annual discussions).

Consider encouraging the implementation of the Jordan model of neighborhood organizations using block clubs as a device for bringing in problems.

Variations Among Intervention Coordinators

Using government staff to facilitate neighborhood meetings is an innovative way to break through the frustrations that often accompany attempts to work with faceless bureaucracy. Residents, neighborhood staff, and people in government all agree that the intervention coordinator (IC), or meeting facilitator, is an important key to the success of C.A.R.E. ICs are the most visible representatives of C.A.R.E., they set the tone of the meetings, and the responsibility for determining the appropriateness of the problems and responses brought to the meetings usually falls on their shoulders. It is their job to welcome people, maintain fair procedures, and coordinate the efforts of everyone at the meeting. When there are no clear and well-known procedures for handling problems, this function becomes central to the fulfillment of C.A.R.E.'s mission. This use of government staff has often worked well, and overall, ICs reported that it was a positive experience for them. (See Appendix B, p. 65.) There have also been some problems reported.

Some facilitators reported confusion regarding their role in the coordination of government

efforts. Is their job simply to make sure the meeting is run well, or are they also responsible for making sure that the various agencies communicate successfully and take coordinated action between meetings? What should their relationship with the neighborhood organization be? How much, if any, background work are they expected to do to understand the workings of the neighborhood? Even among facilitators who do not suffer confusion, there seem to be inconsistencies in their beliefs about their responsibilities as well as in their understanding of C.A.R.E.'s mission.

A weakness (in C.A.R.E.) is the differing abilities of ICs, and the varying degrees to which they embrace the right of the community to be involved. (Government staff)

This could be alleviated in part by holding regular meetings that are attended by virtually all of the ICs. These meetings could serve not only to reach a common understanding of what it means to facilitate neighborhood meetings, but also to pool knowledge about solutions to neighborhood problems. Because a part of C.A.R.E.'s strength arises from its adaptability, regular meetings are necessary to maintain consistency of mission in the midst of varying and changing circumstances. Since ICs are full-time government staff, it has been difficult to arrange meetings. The effectiveness of using government staff as facilitators could perhaps be strengthened by getting budgetary commitments from departments, allowing these duties to become a part of the IC's regular job. This would also alleviate the inconsistencies that arise from the fact that some ICs get paid for time spent at C.A.R.E. meetings, while others do not.

Another aspect of making the best use of intervention coordinators concerns their training and placement. The facilitator training is currently very interesting and enjoyable. Participants seem engaged in the material and the atmosphere is congenial. However, ICs and other government staff reported, and experience has shown, that training does not yet go far enough in preparing people for the biggest challenges of running a C.A.R.E. meeting. In particular, it is important to add material on conflict resolution and neighborhood organizing. There were also reports by residents and government staff that sometimes the tone of the meetings is off-putting, cold, and unfriendly, yet in training there is an emphasis on welcoming residents and inviting them to participate. This discrepancy should be examined to discover where the information is getting lost, or what pieces need to be added.

Once a facilitator is matched with a neighborhood, everyone would benefit from taking time for the neighborhood organization and appropriate government staff to educate the facilitator

about their neighborhood. From the very beginning, ICs and C.A.R.E. staff should make use of existing expertise by seeking it out and listening carefully to those who know the neighborhood.

C.A.R.E. is a good start, a good groundstone, but they *have* to start listening to us. (Resident)
This should occur before starting the work of facilitating meetings. Since stability of facilitators is essential to ensuring ongoing communication and building trust, placement must be given careful consideration, optimally involving residents.

If there is any advice I would give C.A.R.E. it is *don't* change facilitators. There needs to be stability in the facilitators. When they change a lot we question the commitment of C.A.R.E. and wonder if they know what they're doing. It's like, what's your problem? (Resident)

Recommendations:

Establish regular meetings that ensure, as much as possible, attendance by all facilitators. Use these meetings to maintain consistency of mission and clarity regarding responsibilities.

Explore ways to make IC responsibilities a part of their full-time government job.

Expand training to include conflict resolution, neighborhood organizing, and background on the neighborhood.

Not Enough Participation or Awareness

Achieving broad-based participation in community programs is a long-term and well-documented problem. C.A.R.E. is not alone in facing the difficulties of convincing people of color or those who do not own their homes that neighborhood-based action is in their interest, or finding ways to make C.A.R.E. something that appeals to these groups. This problem does seem to carry extra weight in C.A.R.E. because the allocation of city services can be affected by those who show up. Residents and government staff expressed concern about this, but at the same time there were signs of encouragement.

There is leadership developing (in C.A.R.E.) separate from the neighborhood organization.
(Government staff)

C.A.R.E. is a great way to meet neighbors. It is a therapy session for people who come in frustrated. It is a catharsis to air the problem. And people always hang around and talk afterward. (Resident)

C.A.R.E. creates more places for people to get involved. (Resident)

C.A.R.E. could be an excellent opportunity to learn about each other, learn about different cultures. The city is becoming more diverse and we need to deal with that somehow. (Government staff)

It feels empowering to work through C.A.R.E. because you are not the only one. You aren't alone and feel supported. It is good to have the follow-up by the C.A.R.E. staff and the city people. (Resident)

In some cases C.A.R.E. has been quite successful in building a sense of community for those who do attend, and the orientation toward specific problems at least allows for the possibility of expanding this sense of community, especially if it is supported by neighborhood organizing. Neighborhood staff representatives who attended a discussion group unanimously agreed that the responsibility to increase participation rests primarily with the neighborhood organization. The question for C.A.R.E. is what it can do to support that effort, and whether it should have some minimum standards in place.¹¹ Some concrete actions that C.A.R.E. could take to demonstrate its desire to be inclusive include creating a tenant's manual to compliment the Rental Property Owner's Manual and Resource Guide, encouraging outreach at churches attended by people of color, putting stories in newspapers read by underrepresented groups, and contacting leaders in the minority communities to get advice on how to address the needs of their members. This has historically been a very tough problem to solve, and any amount of improvement should be considered a success and used as a building block.

Tables 5 and 6 (pp. 26-27) present information gathered from C.A.R.E. meeting sign-in sheets. In Table 5 it can be seen that the average number of participants per meeting ranges from 3 to 20, an overall average of 7. This represents an average of 2% of all adults living in these neighborhoods, with a low of .5% in Whittier and a high of 4% in Lyndale and Bottineau. It appears that problems with attendance vary quite a bit among the neighborhoods, with a low of 3 participants per meeting in Stevens Square and an impressive high of 20 in Bottineau. The average attendance of each participant has a small range from 2 to 4 meetings, with an overall average of 2.

The reason for this can be seen in Table 6. In most neighborhoods, over half of all the people who ever attend C.A.R.E. meetings attended only once. The next largest group, about 30%, attended two to four meetings. There does appear to be a core group with high attendance rates in every neighborhood, but they represent only about 14% of the people participating. It would quite likely be very useful for the neighborhood organizations, with the support of C.A.R.E., to follow-up on the people who don't come back to find out why. It may open the door to understanding how to meet the needs of a larger group of people.

¹¹There were reports of meetings at which the government staff outnumbered the residents.

C.A.R.E. ATTENDANCE

Through July 15, 1993

Table 5

RESIDENT MEETING ATTENDANCE

	Date Started C.A.R.E.	Meetings		Participation		
		Total # Meetings	Average # Participants per Meeting	Total Adult Pop.	Total # Participants Ever Attended	Average Attendance of Participants
Jordan#	4/90	-	-	-	-	-
Lyndale	4/91	50	4	5,438	223	4
Hawthorne*	5/92	11	11	3,874	124	2
Phillips	5/92	13	10	11,509	124	2
W-H/NN	11/92	9	7	9,415	61	2
Stevens Sq.	1/93	12	3	4,156	37	3
Whittier	2/93	5	14	10,913	71	2
Central	3/93	8	10	4,674	76	2
Powderhorn	3/93	9	9	5,916	82	2
Bottineau	5/93	2	20	917	40	-
St. Anth-W	6/93	2	8	2,038	16	-
TOTALS		122	7	58,850	854	2

These data are based upon the C.A.R.E. meeting sign-in sheets. The total adult population is from the Minneapolis Planning Department.

#Attendance data for Jordan are not available.

*Sign-in sheets are missing for meetings 1, 2, 3, 10. Hawthorne actually had 15 meetings.

Table 6

LEVEL OF ATTENDANCE FOR PARTICIPATING RESIDENTS

	Attended One Meeting	% Total # People Participating**	Attended 2-4 Meetings	% Total # People Participating**	Attended more than 4 Meetings	% Total # People Participating**
Jordan#	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lyndale	129	58	44	19	50	22
Hawthorne*	64	52	46	38	14	11
Phillips	78	59	26	20	20	15
W-H/NN	38	62	20	23	3	5
Stevens Sq.	9	24	23	50	5	13
Whittier	45	63	24	33	2	3
Central	42	55	30	37	4	5
Powderhorn	37	43	33	38	12	14
Bottineau+	-	-	-	-	-	-
St. Anth-W+	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	442	55	246	31	110	14

These data are based upon the C.A.R.E. meeting sign-in sheets.

#Attendance data for Jordan are not available.

*Sign-in sheets are missing for meetings 1, 2, 3, 10. Hawthorne actually had 15 meetings.

+These neighborhoods had only two C.A.R.E. meetings during this time.

**Minus Bottineau and St. Anthony-West.

Participation is, of course, dependent on awareness. The Lyndale Neighborhood Survey was designed to get information about how far awareness of C.A.R.E. has spread throughout the neighborhood. It was a mail survey sent to a random sample of 400 adults in Lyndale with a final response rate of 53% (a total of 173 surveys returned). We found that only 22% of adults in Lyndale have heard of C.A.R.E. (See Table 7, p. 29.) (The methodology and questionnaire are presented in Appendix C, p. 102.) Although no one would expect awareness to be extremely high, and we do not have anything to compare the 22% against, the number seems disappointing. And it is much lower among renters and non-whites. Only fifteen percent of renters had heard of C.A.R.E., while 36% of homeowners had. Similarly, only 13% of non-white respondents had heard of C.A.R.E., but it goes up to 25% for white respondents. Part of the problem with getting renters and minority residents to participate may be related to a lack of information.

Of those who had heard of C.A.R.E., 50% had a good impression of it, and 47% had no opinion. (See Table 8, p. 29.) These results show that a good place to start in increasing participation is to work harder at getting the word out. When C.A.R.E. is starting up in new neighborhoods there is a big push to inform people. These efforts should be maintained as much as possible by both the neighborhood organization and C.A.R.E. After concerted efforts to increase awareness and participation, it should be assessed again to see if the efforts have paid off.

Recommendations:

Encourage and support neighborhood groups in their efforts to increase participation.

Take action to demonstrate C.A.R.E.'s commitment to the inclusion of all groups, including making available a tenants' manual.

Set guidelines for minimum acceptable levels of participation.

Take action to increase the awareness of C.A.R.E.

RESULTS OF THE LYNDAL NEIGHBORHOOD SURVEY

Table 7
AWARENESS OF C.A.R.E.

		Overall (%)	Tenure		Race		Years in Neighborhood	
			Rent (%)	Own (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	0-3 (%)	4+ (%)
Heard of C.A.R.E.?	Yes	38 (22)	18 (15)	20 (36)	32 (25)	6 (13)	16 (16)	22 (29)
	No	135 (78)	100 (85)	35 (64)	95 (75)	40 (87)	81 (84)	54 (71)

Table 8

OPINION OF C.A.R.E.
For those who have heard of C.A.R.E.

		Overall (%)	Tenure		Race		Years in Neighborhood	
			Rent (%)	Own (%)	White (%)	Other (%)	0-3 (%)	4+ (%)
Opinion of C.A.R.E.?	Good	19 (50)	9 (50)	10 (50)	15 (47)	4 (67)	9 (56)	10 (45)
	Poor	1 (3)	1 (6)	-	1 (3)	-	-	1 (5)
	No Opinion	18 (47)	8 (44)	10 (50)	16 (50)	2 (33)	7 (44)	11 (50)

Weaknesses in Administration and Organizational Relationships

The two waves of expansion in 1992 and 1993, while responding to neighborhood requests, brought with them a fair bit of strain. One manifestation of this has been disorder in the C.A.R.E. office. There were widespread complaints about phone numbers not being available, phones not being answered, minutes not being distributed on time, etc. However, a new office manager started at the end of November, so it is expected that many of these problems will be cleared up. Overall problems of understaffing may be alleviated in part by the hiring of additional staff in early 1994.

Another result of the expansion has been strain on capacity and tension between and within city agencies. Government staff in general and ICs in particular reported increased workload and burnout. It is unclear what role the Steering Committee can play in alleviating these tensions. The most recent C.A.R.E. Annual Report describes the responsibility of the Steering Committee as "ensuring the effective operation of the C.A.R.E. program and coordination between departments" (p. 2). This oversight is necessary to the smooth functioning of this multiagency approach, and it needs to be pursued actively. Since attendance at the meetings of that body was very low during the period of this evaluation, we cannot say whether it can effectively confront this problem. There needs to be an examination of whether the present arrangement can carry out this responsibility in a satisfactory manner.

Problems with direct interaction between C.A.R.E. and other agencies were both reported and observed. In their interactions with other agencies, C.A.R.E. staff members need to be mindful of the difference between collaboration and inviting others to agree to decisions that have already been made. It is admittedly quite challenging to be responsible for bringing people together and not either appear that you are in charge or, at times, believe that you are. Failing to learn and maintain this delicate balance, however, results in the loss of valuable knowledge and leads to unnecessary frustration and the breakdown of relationships with other agencies. For example, compassion and concern were clearly the motivating forces behind the attempt to work with the Police Department to organize a prostitution sweep that included offering information about resources available to make changes in their lives. It was an earnest effort to make some progress on a tough problem that plagues several C.A.R.E. neighborhoods. Much was lost, however, in the haste of making a plan of action before listening to the expertise from the nonprofit sector. Their ideas and concerns were not considered early enough in the process to have

an effect on planning. As it stood, it was an innovative approach, but it might have been much more powerful if the message to the experts had been, "What do you know about how this should be done?" rather than, "We are going to do this whether you participate or not. Would you like to join us?" There is a great deal of knowledge available to C.A.R.E. through nonprofit organizations, neighborhood groups, CCP/Safe, and others that at present is not being listened to and used to its fullest.

One of the biggest questions that currently faces C.A.R.E. is what the effect of its merger with the NRP will be. Since this change is currently occurring and will not be finalized until January 1994, it is not possible to draw any conclusions. It seems that reassigning staff so that each person has more duties in fewer neighborhoods will increase the understanding of the interworkings of each neighborhood. However, the C.A.R.E. staff reported concern that the overwhelming nature of the NRP process will leave little time to attend to their C.A.R.E. responsibilities. This is a serious concern that warrants ongoing attention.

In addition to being multiagency and neighborhood-based, an important part of C.A.R.E. is its innovative character. The staff is creative and willing to take risks, but also over-extended. We encourage fostering creativity while also protecting against burnout, and encourage C.A.R.E. to keep focussed on innovation and resist the temptation to institutionalize successful projects as part of C.A.R.E. Once a special project has proven to be successful, find an appropriate home for it elsewhere in the city or county. This will help avoid needlessly creating bureaucracy and draining staff energy.

Recommendations:

Do not expand beyond the ability of staff to handle increased demands.

Monitor the effect of the merger with NRP on time spent on C.A.R.E. responsibilities.

Examine the effectiveness of the Steering Committee in overseeing coordination between city and county departments.

Seek out and listen to the wide range of expertise available.

Place successful special projects in appropriate city or county agencies.

APPENDIX A: RESIDENT DISCUSSION GROUPS

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Resident Discussion Groups

Introduction

Information from residents is essential to assessing the success of C.A.R.E. Because it was impossible to study every neighborhood in a thorough manner, four were chosen for in-depth study: Lyndale, Hawthorne, Central, and Bottineau. These four were chosen to represent neighborhoods that have had C.A.R.E for different lengths of time, have varying levels of owner-occupied housing, and are from different geographic areas of the city. (See Table 1, p. 6; map, p. 8.) Using the C.A.R.E attendance records that are compiled from meeting sign-in sheets, people were separated into groups of moderate attenders and regular attenders. (This was not done in Bottineau since C.A.R.E was new there and had not had enough meetings for this distinction to make sense.) Letters were then sent to explain to residents the purpose of the evaluation, and to invite them to separate meetings based on their attendance. There were six discussion groups¹² involving a total of forty-one residents. The questions used for discussion were based largely on questions posed by government staff during interviews.

Attendance at Resident Discussion Groups

<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>Number of Groups</u>	<u>Attendance</u>
Lyndale	2	14
Hawthorne	2	13
Central	1	6
Bottineau	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>
TOTALS	6	41

¹²No one attended the Central discussion group for moderate attenders.

RESIDENT DISCUSSION GROUPS

Lyndale Resident Discussion Group: Regular Attenders (attendance=five)

What is C.A.R.E.?

The people that run it care. The people who attend the meetings care. We are able to solve problems because we all care.

It is an organization created by local governments to facilitate for this neighborhood various resources the government has available to correct our ills and empower C.A.R.E. to do the coordination.

It is a coming together of people of the same heart, the same caring. The basic ingredient is that everyone wants to get something accomplished for the good of the neighborhood.

What got you to come to a meeting in the first place? What was the draw?

Block leaders invited people. We found out about it from block leaders.

It was a gesture from government and seemed like a way we could really make a difference. People saw this gesture as a chance to sit down and find out what people from government can do, and hold them accountable.

The neighborhood would find out right away if it wasn't sincere.

It is a great way to meet neighbors. It is a therapy session for people who come in frustrated. It is a catharsis to air the problem. And people always hang around and talk afterward.

How has C.A.R.E. affected your neighborhood? What is C.A.R.E. accomplishing? What has worked and not worked?

It is quieter in my end of town. There is not as much foot traffic.

I used to have trouble getting to bed because there was so much going on. Or I would be up in the middle of the night. It has stabilized the neighborhood.

I think some people saw C.A.R.E. as a last ditch effort before moving to the suburbs. C.A.R.E.

puts out the fires so neighborhood organizers can work on block clubs and other things. C.A.R.E. is a luxury item because it takes work off of LNA's plate. Troublemakers get extinguished faster. And there is the awareness that problems get solved. It opens the possibilities for getting things done without spending a large amount of money. Commitment is involved though, and people are committed.

We move people out, but they move back in. We move them around and just shift the problem.

The relationship between citizens and the police department have improved quite a bit. This is mostly as a result of our Safe officer because he is so good at smoothing out rough edges. The improved relationship results in increased confidence that things will improve. C.A.R.E. gives hope. The value of the meeting is that the officer can explain the situation so people don't get frustrated.

How much are residents willing to do? What will residents commit to?

As long as there is an ear listening and actually hearing and actually doing, people will be committed. But we need more ears at C.A.R.E. We need politicians there, the people who can change policy. We need to get their attention.

The rest of the community needs to get people who complain to come to the table. Block leaders have been able to get them to come and it has worked to clear things up. But a lot of the bad stuff that is happening is where there aren't block clubs.

Is C.A.R.E. dealing with the right issues? What more can/should C.A.R.E. do?

The largest problem in the neighborhood is crime. Most of this crime is a result of renters. If that is true, I feel that one area of effort that should be getting a lot of attention is how we can influence owners to improve their tenant selection. C.A.R.E. needs to focus on that more. The efforts so far have fallen short.

Kids. We have problems with kids being out late, unsupervised, getting into trouble, with nothing to do. Child protection is not very effective because they wait until a large problem occurs. We need to use other kids' organizations. *Schools* are not represented in C.A.R.E. *Parks* are not represented in C.A.R.E. The programming part of LNA doesn't come to C.A.R.E. meetings.

There are people in the neighborhood who need basic education: GED, nutrition, things like that. It is not being provided. People in poverty need help.

What do you think of the format of the meetings? Time? Location? Setting? Should there be: childcare, transportation, translators, other advertising? How can new people be reached?

The format goes a long way. It gets things done and controls things so people don't get overwhelmed. It is comfortable if things keep moving along. New people just need to learn the rules. We've had good facilitators.

Zion is the center of the neighborhood and is a good location.

Daycare would probably help attendance.

The best advertising is things like the potluck, social events so people can meet each other and see what C.A.R.E. is about.

If there is any advice I would give C.A.R.E. it is *don't* change facilitators. There needs to be stability in the facilitators. When they change a lot we question the commitment of C.A.R.E. and wonder if they know what they're doing. It's like, what's your problem?

Do you prefer Inspection sweeps or using Inspections through C.A.R.E.?

The targeted approach through C.A.R.E. is much better. It is a better allocation of resources. It just makes sense to take care of the worst problems first. That keeps up the pressure for other people to maintain their property.

In a sweep they can't find out root causes, but in the meetings we can find out more about it.

Do you get things from C.A.R.E. that you don't get from CCP/Safe?

C.A.R.E. is better at getting the bigger picture. C.A.R.E. has closer contact with Inspections.

In C.A.R.E. you can deal with problems that are off your own block.

C.A.R.E. is more personal than CCP/Safe.

With C.A.R.E. you don't have to make so many phone calls. You can just go to the meeting and make one complaint. For some people it is difficult to do the phone calling during the day.

Should C.A.R.E. ever leave a neighborhood?

We wouldn't want them to leave. It's a crutch, but a needed crutch. Things would get worse if C.A.R.E. was not there. There might be less frequent meetings someday if it gets to the point that people are complaining about petty things.

I wouldn't want to see C.A.R.E. leaving, but I could see it taking a different form. Someone from the neighborhood should facilitate the meeting. That would be the ultimate idea for C.A.R.E.

C.A.R.E. is a model that can work in different ways for the neighborhood. It is one-stop shopping.

What is the ultimate goal of C.A.R.E. in your neighborhood?

Not to have the expectation that the problems will ever completely go away, but that we have a grip on them. We will know what's going on, and know what to do. C.A.R.E. should help neighborhood committees focus their efforts.

C.A.R.E. might expand to beautification.

It is an appropriate place for city council members to be more involved. Politicians need to be represented at C.A.R.E. meetings.

C.A.R.E. should serve as a clearinghouse for neighborhood projects and help give people ideas.

Phone Comments from Lyndale Residents (could not attend the meetings)

C.A.R.E. is great, but the neighborhood should have more control of the meetings. The facilitator should be a neighborhood resident.

C.A.R.E. is essential for the community. I wish the meetings could be less tedious. Can they be condensed? Try a different format? Also, at Painter Park it is hard to hear people talk.

Lyndale Resident Discussion Group: Moderate Attenders (attendance=nine)

What is C.A.R.E.?

It is the neighborhood working with government, residents, tenants, homeowners. It is a personal way to interact with city staff. It is not abstract but is physically in the neighborhood.

It gets government out of downtown and brings different agencies together. It creates a forum for them, and holds them accountable. You get to ask them questions.

C.A.R.E. can target problem properties to keep the neighborhood clean and drug-free. It helps you to get to know your neighbors. You can express yourself about things that happen in the neighborhood.

What got you to come to a meeting in the first place? What was the draw?

I was threatened by crime.

I heard about it through neighbors at a block club meeting.

I read about it in *Common Sense* and it sounded very good. After I got beat up in my front yard I decided to go to a meeting.

I heard about it from neighbors. It sounded like a way to bring positive pressure to bear. It gets a whole new group of people out into the community. It has appeal because it is problem-oriented. You care about what's happening on your block.

It attracts people if something has happened to them.

Like a doctor, it's there when you're ill but it has a preventative aspect to it, too.

How has C.A.R.E. affected your neighborhood? What is C.A.R.E. accomplishing?

It has made it a better community with less crime. It's safer. It has been a rollercoaster ride, but at least we have some way to deal with it.

There was an abandoned house on our block that had been there for a long time. Our block club brought it up, and in eight weeks there was a process with a timeline to get it going.

It feels empowering to work through C.A.R.E. because you are not the only one. You aren't alone and feel supported. It is good to have the follow-up by C.A.R.E. staff with the city people. They know the system. Everyone involved with C.A.R.E. has to be more accountable.

C.A.R.E. creates more places for people to get involved.

One of the best things C.A.R.E. has accomplished is the Rental Property Owners Group and the Housing Connections program. That is a great program.

Have attitudes toward government changed as a result of C.A.R.E. Do people feel better about using government services? Are government people responsive?

On the one hand it's been satisfactory, but the barriers have become clearer. We have become educated regarding the limits people in government have.

There are outstanding issues in problem areas that don't get resolved. Prostitution on Nicollet Avenue is a real problem. Some problems never get solved because the solutions are long and hard.

Sometimes C.A.R.E. can't address things because it doesn't have access to legal counsel.

The people from government who do come to meetings do a great job. They are brutally honest about their own limitations and try to do as much as they can. This highlights the frustration. They show us what *can* be done.

Relations with police have improved because of C.A.R.E. but there is a long way to go with the fifth precinct. There are problems with the fifth precinct.

It seems that Inspections goes after easy targets because responsible people will respond to the complaints and it will make them (Inspections) look good. C.A.R.E. doesn't even touch the unfairness of Inspections. C.A.R.E. doesn't address systemic issues.

How much are residents willing to do? What will residents commit to?

If people see results, they are willing to put out, but if they go to meetings and don't see anything happen, commitment flags.

Resident involvement comes and goes. People burnout because they have other commitments.

The way you talk about problems in C.A.R.E. meetings does have a way of - well, I can't talk

about issues and how they affect me and my family. You have to talk about "the activity." It is too formal for some things.

Some people are afraid that if they raise complaints their house will be hit.

Is C.A.R.E. dealing with the right issues? What more can/should C.A.R.E. do?

I would like to see more problem buildings come up, but I am really worried about continuing to live. The amount of crime on the 3400 block of Nicollet is phenomenal. Problems aren't addressed in a total way. We put a lot of effort into solving problems but are not getting a response. The frustration level of people on that block is very high. C.A.R.E. needs to make it strongly known what we want. There is always a wall with the police. I would like to see some involvement by police in the fifth precinct in the community.

I feel that C.A.R.E. is an extension of the police but not a resource that is receptive to bringing new ideas. Additional areas that must be addressed are the multiple problems of dysfunctional families who have no resources. Fighting crime by hiring police is only one method. When you do that the people who rally are homeowners.

We have to come up with specific ideas about how to talk to each other. We cannot do anything about our problems until we can take care of that. We must get people who are the most affected to come to get the resources. We need to get troubled families out. Otherwise we just have whites bringing in cops to control blacks.

The tone of the meeting is off-putting. It does not encourage the attendance of blacks. It is not a welcoming or inviting atmosphere.

We need to push harder into the agencies that can help people, and use county programs. We need to have mentoring programs and involve the schools.

Instead of saying there is a problem kid, we need to say we have a problem for kids in this neighborhood. We need places for kids to play. There is obviously a need for kids programs in this neighborhood. Is there the capacity? Can we tie in with suburban churches?

C.A.R.E. is obviously there to deal with problems. Different agencies have been invited and C.A.R.E. has made sincere efforts and there have been presentations. These other agencies give presentations but they aren't a direct link, they aren't engaged in the community.

Maybe we could use a working board of the agencies to come up with ideas.

We must address crime problems first. C.A.R.E. shouldn't lose that focus.

There needs to be a mechanism to engage other people. Maybe there should be more connection with LNA (Lyndale Neighborhood Association).

C.A.R.E. puts out fires and it is kind of patronizing. We are like children and they are the parents.

C.A.R.E. is like a fastfood restaurant. It is lipservice to the community. They are gung-ho to bust someone but they aren't willing to really tackle problems.

We are trying to decide for someone else what they need. And C.A.R.E. does the same thing for us. They define what the issues are.

The C.A.R.E. and government staff who make decisions about how to handle these problems aren't the people who actually have to talk to social workers as part of their life.

We have got to get beyond simple enforcement. We need a way to decide what we need and how to go about solving problems.

We need to get the schools involved.

We need a holistic approach. We need to find out why particular families are having problems.

We have to bring more people together to learn to talk.

C.A.R.E. might be getting dumped with jobs people in the community don't want to do, but really, these things should be taken care of by the community.

C.A.R.E. doesn't get at all the resources that are there. It would be helpful if agencies would assign people to form linkages - or train volunteers to do it. Volunteers could do it.

C.A.R.E. should be doing more to promote the involvement of more people.

C.A.R.E. needs to rewrite its vision statement.

They should include agencies that *know people*. We need someone to do capacity building for the neighborhood.

Maybe C.A.R.E. should have a mediator for disputes between individuals - or get neighborhood residents who would like to be trained as mediators.

What do you think of the format of the meetings? Time? Location? Setting? Should there be: childcare, transportation, translators, other advertising? How can new people be reached?

The format doesn't allow for generic problems that are neighborhood-wide, or cover wider areas than just one property. Sometimes the problem is transient. Sometimes it encompasses more than a specific address. Or the problem is *at* the address, but *isn't* the address.

The minutes are not timely. And if I miss a meeting I will not get a copy of the minutes. Mailings should be kept up even if you miss a meeting - even if you miss for a few months.

We need more events to attract people.

Meetings should be publicized better in *Common Sense*. Have a regular ad. There should be an ad that tells what's going to happen.

It would be good to advertise in Spanish, Hmong, Laotian. And then there should be translators available.

Daycare would help some people, but there is a difference between parking kids and providing daycare. You have to be serious about it and do it well.

Both transportation and daycare should be handled by the community, and encouraged by C.A.R.E.

C.A.R.E. should encourage people to invite a neighbor.

We need social events to get people out and meet each other. A quarterly social event rather than annual would be good. We need an informal event to encourage attendance at the formal meetings.

What is the ultimate goal of C.A.R.E. in your neighborhood?

To bring all the resources to bear on the true problems.

C.A.R.E. changes as needs change. You have to stop the hemorrhage before you can start getting involved deeper.

We want community building, whether it is by emergency measures, or community events, or solving social problems.

We are the drivers of C.A.R.E.

But it is easier when there is a specific, concrete problem.

We need to get people there who can address and help *people*. But we need more than an individual. It needs to be capacity building.

Right now we're doing things *to* people and that kind of bothers me. It *is* kind of adversarial.

We would like council members there.

Hawthorne Resident Discussion Group: Regular Attenders (attendance=eleven)

What is C.A.R.E.?

Do you just want the standard answer? It is a meeting to bring the community and government resources together to solve problems.

But it's not operating that way.

It doesn't feel like it is.

They say that it isn't for people to just sit and gripe, but I don't see anything happen. Things don't get done.

People ask pointed questions and want a direct response, but don't get an answer.

An example is when I came in with a thousand license plate numbers and identified crack houses and they are still in operation. I was told I was monopolizing meetings with complaints.

All we ever hear is, "We're working on it."

What got you to come to a meeting in the first place? What was the draw?

We were sick of the crime.

We wanted to get absentee landlords.

We heard great things from Jordan and were really excited about having C.A.R.E. here.

How has C.A.R.E. affected your neighborhood? What is C.A.R.E. accomplishing?

Nothing is happening. The same addresses appear month after month.

We had great expectations when it began. We got excited because they helped shut down a crack house on the next block, and it looked like it was going to work.

As C.A.R.E. expands there are only so many resources and they are going to get spread thinner and thinner.

There is a lot of frustration because nothing is being done. Why go to a meeting if nothing is being done? Citizens are frustrated when they follow up and *still* nothing gets done.

I can no longer in good faith tell people to come to C.A.R.E. meetings. They think it will be hope and salvation, and it isn't.

I feel everyone is saying bad things about C.A.R.E. We had a house on our block that was terrorizing us and it was raided because of C.A.R.E. It seems like people have worked on the problems I have brought up.

Early on there was some encouragement.

I have been coming for half a year, and I haven't seen anything happening.

They could at least tell us the process and say what's going on.

But maybe you shouldn't ask for gory details. Maybe you should just wait and see.

But we have waited and nothing happens.

What makes the priorities? Some people's problems seem like priorities over others.

It seems like they don't have the resources they said they did.

There was a big drug raid, and I thanked C.A.R.E. about it, but it turned out that C.A.R.E. didn't have anything to do with it.

It makes you feel like, what's the use?

I don't know who to be frustrated with. Should I be mad at C.A.R.E. or the agencies themselves?

I haven't been at the last few meetings because I haven't had a problem address, but I listen at the meetings and it hit me. Wait a minute. It's a form of redlining because we can monitor it.

C.A.R.E. is supposed to process complaints to the right agency. Do they do this? They have, but I don't know if they are now. Has anybody checked up on C.A.R.E.?

Before C.A.R.E. it seemed like we could work pretty quickly with CCP/Safe and form relationships with agencies ourselves.

It was the opposite of that on my block.

But I closed a drug house on my block in two and a half weeks. I took license numbers and I got more things done on my own.

The danger of C.A.R.E. is that people stop doing things. People just bring complaints to meetings.

Have attitudes toward government changed as a result of C.A.R.E.? Do people feel better about using government services?

We've learned that the departments are politics.

Inspections attitude is, if you rock my boat, I'll rock yours.

It isn't that Inspections isn't issuing orders, it's whether they are complied with.

Properties don't get run down over night. What was happening all those years? If I get an order about the numbers on my house being too small, why aren't they getting orders?

Inspections know they can get compliance because they know you care about your house.

We haven't learned about agencies.

I think we've learned that they lie through their teeth and play politics.

They want us to do half their job and then they don't follow up.

We have been repeatedly told that there are five crack team members for the fourth precinct. There aren't nearly enough.

Is C.A.R.E. dealing with the right issues? What more can/should C.A.R.E. do?

C.A.R.E. should be giving us some kind of feedback.

Right now they're letting us talk and it isn't going anywhere.

I know they can't get back on everything, but after three or four meetings and you don't get an answer, then that *is* an answer: nothing.

Maybe there is a problem with leaks so they don't want to say.

Maybe they could get back to block leaders if they are concerned about leaks. They could do that.

A kind of disservice is that some people don't know the process and they don't get told that they need to give more specific information. They should be told, "We need this from you." I was at a meeting once when four problems were brought up, and only one had good information. The other people need to know what they need to bring to the meeting. Some people come, go on and on, and then never come back. They never find out what they need to do.

It seems like they are too afraid of offending or hurting someone, afraid of getting involved.

We *have* talked with the C.A.R.E. staff about this issue.

C.A.R.E. doesn't work with block club leaders. They've held meetings and not invited us. Are we wiping mats for C.A.R.E.'s shoes?

Maybe we could choose one problem to focus on. We could vote on it.

We don't have as many block clubs as Jordan, so we elected to have an open, public meeting. But the facilitator seems to think we operate like Jordan. I don't know how many times we've tried to tell him that we don't.

We created a form to fill out because we had people who came in and rambled and nobody knew if they had documentation. It was done to streamline and help the facilitator.

*What do you think of the format of the meetings? Time? Location? Setting?
Should there be: childcare, transportation, translators, other advertising?
How can new people be reached?*

The meetings are boring, too long, repetitive, nothing is streamlined, people don't come back to update, people don't report back.

We don't need to go all the way around every time. It is a waste of time. They could introduce new people if they want, but we know each other. We could wear nametags.

We sit there for one hour and forty-five minutes to the roll of updates and then have fifteen minutes left for new problems. Some people never come back.

We were going to ask people when they will be back to update, and then we could just bring up the problem again then.

We have met and discussed these issues, but the facilitator will just do what he wants to do.

You can't give all the details you need to because there is too much crap.

Do we need more government staff here? I don't know.

We don't really know what happens after we give addresses. Maybe our expectations are high, but if we understood the process it would help.

You feel like problems are tossed out.

You feel like problems are tossed in a black hole.

There is conflict between the agencies we use. They don't all speak with the same tongue.

Time: good

Location: We draw more people here. We get the most people when we are always in the same place. We need to be consistent. It's hard to find places in different areas of this neighborhood.

Childcare: Who would provide it? Have only had one call from the beginning. It was offered at the beginning and there were no takers.

Transportation: It would really help. People in the neighborhood can offer rides. Maybe we should ask if people can offer rides, then advertise that rides are available. It shouldn't be an issue.

Translators: We might have some SE Asians. But any of them would probably be able to speak English before they would even come.

Other advertising: We used to put out more flyers, but we haven't done it for a long time. Could C.A.R.E. increase the mailing once or twice a year? What about churches?

But is very difficult for me to tell people this is a good meeting to come to. I'd rather encourage people to get involved on their block.

There seems to be a problem with black people seeing this as a white group. Black people don't want to come.

When an address is reported we are generally reporting on rentals, which are generally occupied by minorities. So it appears racist. And they think that we just report on them and don't want to live with them.

They won't get involved because they see it as being snitches and police action, and they don't want to be perceived as snitches in their communities. They don't want to be seen as going over to the whites and snitching.

Should there be a black meeting?

Do you prefer Inspection sweeps or using Inspections through C.A.R.E.?

It didn't work to have sweeps.

If they did it through C.A.R.E. it would be directed to the worst problems.

Do you get things from C.A.R.E. that you don't get from CCP/SAFE?

C.A.R.E. has had some speakers. C.A.R.E. is more connected with other agencies. But the speakers just tell you what you want to hear, like politicians. They are brought in to address questions, but they don't answer that question. And when we try to ask them, they don't listen to us.

What is the ultimate goal of C.A.R.E. in your neighborhood?

C.A.R.E. is a good start, a good idea, a good groundstone, but they *have* to start listening to us.

We'd listen to them better if they would listen to us.

They need to fix all the things we've been talking about.

They need to change facilitators.

They need to start getting results or answers. We just want to know *why*.

I'm concerned that as C.A.R.E. is in more neighborhoods, we will get less and less.

Regarding the C.A.R.E. staff, I have nothing but wonderful things to say about them as resources outside of meetings. They always return my calls, and always have an answer.

C.A.R.E. *could* work to bring the community together if these things are fixed.

We would be open to exploring new ways of setting priorities, but it has been our experience that our facilitator is going to do whatever he wants.

Do we really need someone from the city to facilitate these meetings? Who *owns* this neighborhood?

Right now there is no dialogue. The questions, prompting don't get done.

Hawthorne Resident Discussion Group: Moderate Attenders (attendance=two)

What got you to come to a meeting in the first place?

Concern with dealing with the neighborhood. Hopefully it would help us deal with crack, crime, rundown housing, litter all over the place.

And it was a chance to see inspectors and such face to face so they know who you are when you call.

C.A.R.E. gives us avenues to help with rundown properties.

How has C.A.R.E. affected your neighborhood? What is C.A.R.E. accomplishing?

Except for teaching us the process, it hasn't had an impact. The same properties keep coming up.

We have problems with differences in culture. The rental mindset v. homeowner, and landlords who couldn't care less.

C.A.R.E. hasn't been able to solve all the problems that poverty brings. They have been able to coordinate police and inspections and deal with property.

C.A.R.E. hasn't been able to solve people problems.

C.A.R.E. is an organized structure to deal with problems the block club coalition was trying to deal with, and it saved us from having to develop a structure and helped us meet other agencies.

The problem we have is that some people come to one meeting and don't show up again. Nothing gets done and then they get mad. People expect to dump their problems.

I have developed a relationship with the fourth precinct through 4PAC and C.A.R.E. C.A.R.E. has given us a route to police intelligence.

Have attitudes toward government changed as a result of C.A.R.E.?

C.A.R.E. hasn't hurt any relationships with government staff.

We do have contact through the block club coalition, but C.A.R.E. meets more often and has closer connections.

C.A.R.E. makes relationship building faster and pulls everyone together.

We already had relationships with Inspections and CCP/Safe.

Is C.A.R.E. dealing with the right issues? What more can/should C.A.R.E. do?

You can only deal with what's brought up.

We've had real trouble with the way landlords run their business. They have the attitude that you can't tell them about how to run their business. They don't care about who they rent to as long as they get the money.

What do you think of the format of the meetings? How can new people be reached? Should there be other advertising?

I don't see any other way to do it. But we get bogged down on certain properties every time. We aren't trained observers and we get extraneous information and don't get the information they need.

Until the neighborhood gets trained, a lot of the meeting is spent teaching us what to look for.

If you want to be here, you will find a way to be here.

It is already in the *Northside News*, and that comes to every house. Publication of the process would probably help. Information about how the meeting runs and what's going to happen would help.

Do you prefer Inspection sweeps or using Inspections through C.A.R.E.?

The targeted approach is better for problem properties, but sweeps are geared toward maintaining the housing stock of the city. Targeting is nice for specific problems, but I would hate to see sweeps stop altogether because so much comes in.

Both of them are needed.

What is the ultimate goal of C.A.R.E. in your neighborhood?

The ultimate goal is for C.A.R.E. to be a link between residents and city agencies to solve

problems, and social services need to be involved. CCP/Safe does do some of that, but so much more needs to be done.

We haven't had any speakers from welfare. What are welfare requirements?

We have a lot of kids with nothing to do. There are things for kids eight to twelve, but after twelve these kids are on the street all the time. They have nowhere else to be. Their needs are so great that Hawthorne and CCP/Safe can't meet them.

After C.A.R.E. has been through the police and Housing Inspections, they're done. They don't face the people who live *in* these properties. There is the breach of moving from the city to the county and dealing with the people problems. Our biggest issue is people problems.

Central Resident Discussion Group: Regular Attenders (attendance=six)

What is C.A.R.E.?

It is another attempt to solve the problems of the inner-city by pleasing the residents, but it hasn't had much effect on my block. It is a bad attempt.

It gathers more information for agencies, where everything just bogs down.

When I was informed about C.A.R.E. I thought it was a blessing. It did a good job on abandoned property in Central, but that's a small portion of the problems in Central. And we will always have those problems unless someone deals with the causes.

C.A.R.E. is agencies working together, but so far they have done nothing except create another circle to run people down.

C.A.R.E. is a vehicle to bring various resources to one side of the table and residents bring problems to the other side, and the people with all the resources can handle the problems, or at least refer them.

What got you to come to a meeting in the first place? What was the draw?

I heard it was a success in Jordan.

I was a block captain for seven years and we had good results with block clubs until Brian and Sharon decided to run for office. They try to pacify everyone in the city and it has exacerbated the problems. I thought C.A.R.E. would be able to circumvent that.

But we were told to not air block club problems at C.A.R.E. meetings. So what is C.A.R.E. for?

How has C.A.R.E. affected you neighborhood? What is C.A.R.E. accomplishing? What has worked and not worked?

C.A.R.E. has been overly focused on visual problems because that is the easy part. That's basically it. But that isn't what the issues are in this neighborhood. The problems range from crime, to weapons dealing, to drugs, to prostitution. We keep hearing, "We're looking into it."

We haven't been able to address some problems due to personal safety issues. People were threatened for bringing problems.

What stuff is under the table? It's become a political game.

The thing I like about C.A.R.E. is that there were some things that transpired at the beginning and a lot of what got brought up got resolved. At the beginning many long-time elderly residents came and due to health reasons haven't been able to come. C.A.R.E. worked for them. But I've brought concerns that have been brushed aside. C.A.R.E. has walked away from things without adequate follow-up. When I asked for clarification about something they threw their hands up.

They did a great job of cleaning up the stores. They cleaned those up real fast.

Have attitudes toward government changed as a result of C.A.R.E.? Do people feel better about using government services? Are government people responsive?

C.A.R.E. has turned us away from government staff because talking doesn't get anything done and it seems like what we say gets turned against us.

If you are not a minority in this neighborhood your voice doesn't count, except with the police. Cops have been responsive but have limited manpower.

It seems like people don't know what their jobs are. There is poor communication between agencies. The right hand doesn't know what the left hand is doing. They have not cooperated.

One of the big problems is crack houses and the undercover cops are all known so they don't get buys. There is not much being done about them.

Nothing gets done.

How much are residents willing to do? What will residents commit to?

We on our block have done everything we are supposed to do. People get burned out and nothing gets done except abandoned houses get taken care of, and that isn't enough.

People will do a lot if they see results.

Is C.A.R.E. dealing with the right issues? What more can/should C.A.R.E. do?

C.A.R.E. should be representing all citizens to get at root problems in the neighborhood.

C.A.R.E. needs to work with other organizations so there isn't so much chasing around.

Nonprofits, too, not just city services.

There needs to be a focus on things other than properties.

C.A.R.E. needs to deal with social organizations so people with problems can get help. We thought that was what it was supposed to be.

It is frustrating for residents because neighborhood watch is another full-time job. Following-up is a lot of work.

Agencies don't follow-up, and C.A.R.E. hasn't made any difference with that.

C.A.R.E. needs to get some power. They need to have some authority to finish jobs and not just pass it on to other agencies. Something needs to be done so there is leverage at the city level to get answers from the top level of agencies in the city.

We've done letters and phone trees and we get no response.

Politicians have been screwing things up. It might have been different if it was not an election year.

Everyone seems like they want to improve the neighborhood, but things always run into some block, some legal problem, that stymies the attempt.

The city will take advantage of easily enforceable problems. Inspections goes through and takes advantage of responsible homeowners.

C.A.R.E. promises the moon and can't deliver.

There are so many people who are government staff who are basically nine-to-fivers getting a little comp time. they are sort of into it, but not really. Their heart isn't in it. The meetings get to be a pain for them. So maybe you need someone invested in the community to run the meetings.

This tiny focused area has got problems that can only be solved by major changes in the system, and they aren't willing to take that on.

We were led to believe that C.A.R.E. has connections that they don't. Now we don't even trust who we used to trust.

For sale signs are up and people are moving, but a lot of people don't have that option.

Middle-class homeowners are overlooked in the problems of this city. I don't have \$20,000 to put

new siding on my house, but I know that in a few years I'm going to get that ticket.

C.A.R.E. should ask Central residents to talk about what they would like the Central neighborhood to be like, what would make their neighborhood more desirable. Then people could choose from the list what they want to work on. If the C.A.R.E. committee could do that sort of thing, say this is what we've got to have to make Central a good place to live right now, that would be great.

What do you think of the format of the meetings? Time? Location? Setting?

The format seems fine, but there is one problem and that is that the updates take the whole time, and are a waste of time. There should be a synopsis or something, or just hand them out.

If you miss one meeting because of any scheduling problem, your problem gets closed. You have to attend every meeting, even when nothing has been done on your problem.

The meeting place is good.

Up and Out of Poverty has been disruptive. Only neighborhood residents should be able to attend.

Sometimes people who come to block club meetings are part of the problem. Or many people don't have the time or energy (elderly, young families) for block clubs.

There is no communication between all the activities in the neighborhood. There are too many activities.

Job initiatives don't mean shit. It isn't what this neighborhood needs.

C.A.R.E. lacks a mechanism to deal with issues that are outside of what C.A.R.E. can do. C.A.R.E. got bogged down. Maybe a mediator would help to take some problems out of the meeting. C.A.R.E. should be able to provide a mediator and keep the meeting going.

Sometimes the agenda is too wide open. C.A.R.E. meetings should have some way to set priorities.

Right now the priorities are set by the facilitator and staff person and *not* by residents. The priorities don't reflect the discussion. The minutes don't reflect what was actually said at the meetings.

We have attempted to set priorities, but we haven't been allowed to do so. We said our concerns are drugs, gunshots, weapons dealers, prostitution, but the focus is property. The roots of the problem are social.

C.A.R.E. has to deal with racism, but it is very difficult. I don't know how to do that. Talking about racism can divert attention away from other problems.

Our C.A.R.E. meetings have been very diverse. That is one of the things that make this neighborhood nice.

What is the ultimate goal of C.A.R.E. in your neighborhood?

C.A.R.E. could do a better job of getting the word out to new people.

They really need a clearly defined mission so people know what to expect. C.A.R.E. should admit what they can't do.

The diversity of the neighborhood is both part of the problem and part of the appeal.

C.A.R.E. needs to clean up crime.

C.A.R.E. should actually facilitate and get the heads of agencies together and get something done.

They need to include social organizations to deal with social problems.

C.A.R.E. needs to have some authority in the city.

C.A.R.E. is good about getting problems aired, but they don't get things done.

They have to get the politics out of it.

Or is the problem irresponsibility?

Central Resident Phone Calls (two, could not attend discussion group)

I attended meetings until May, when I got sick and couldn't go. I enjoyed the meetings and was very impressed with how they got things done. C.A.R.E. is good for the neighborhood.

I have enjoyed C.A.R.E. meetings and found them to be well-organized. I enjoyed seeing people from different agencies there. There was often stimulating discussion. We made progress with some problems and had some meaningful interaction. Especially bringing landlords into contact with the community was good.

Bottineau Resident Discussion Group (attendance=eight)

What is C.A.R.E.? What is NRP?

C.A.R.E. is a coming together of residents and city agencies so you have the impact of several agencies working on a problem.

C.A.R.E. is personable. You get to meet government people who are out working in the community. Before we had no idea who they were.

NRP has more money. NRP is about revitalization, and C.A.R.E. is where we can voice immediate problems.

C.A.R.E. is immediate and NRP is long-term.

What got you to come to a meeting in the first place? What was the draw?

It sounded like a chance to work on some problems and hopefully do something about it.

I think I heard about it through a flyer.

It was largely word of mouth.

We heard about C.A.R.E. through BCIA¹³ meetings. And I think it was in the BCIA newsletter.

I came just to see, and was very impressed. I liked that it was informative. It is a well-run meeting. The information was covered within the stated time. It was interesting, and they promised results by the next meeting.

They have rules and stood by the rules. It is a well-conducted meeting.

How has C.A.R.E. affected your neighborhood? What is C.A.R.E. accomplishing?

Well, there was the California Building. They got inspectors in there and cleaned it out.

We had the tire program and that was a big success.

¹³Bottineau Citizens in Action

We got some bushes trimmed.

The neighborhood has gotten cleaned up. Some houses have been checked out.

So far the problems have been easy to deal with. Once we get into the more difficult issues the response is slower. There is a crack house across from the park and they don't really seem to be pursuing that as earnestly. The follow-up becomes more difficult. Looking at the process three, four, five months from now I don't know how effective the results will be.

What do you do about serious crime? About youth wandering around? If they are supposed to bring resources to bear then they should be serious about it.

But the police do try to do things, but they have a hard time getting results.

Have attitudes toward government changed as a result of C.A.R.E.? Do people feel better about using government services. Are the government people responsive?

I don't have any faith in government at all. They say they'll do something and then they don't follow-up. You can talk as much as you want.

That person from sanitation was very informative and did a good job of covering everything.

Government people have been responsive up to the point that they can. We get disgusted by the rules. The minimum code isn't what we want. The frustration is with the people who make the rules, the laws.

But it is good to learn about the restrictions. We understand that their hands are tied, too.

There could be serious frustration down the road if there aren't changes in the ordinances. There could be a lot of disappointment.

People have been concerned with small, irritating things so far. We've really spent our time on that so far. But people *are* concerned about junk in yards and things like that.

How much are residents willing to do? What will residents commit to?

The turnout has been fantastic, so that says something about concerns.

People are concerned, but not willing to really do the work. The tire program was an exception. It was successful because there were people who want to help.

We didn't get any volunteers to work on an environmental C.A.R.E. It's a shame that people don't want to work with business and have a voice.

Where are all the young people? Out having fun. They're the ones who are going to be living here. They are the ones who will benefit from the revitalization.

I think there is a possibility of people working in groups. If you had two or three people working on one specific thing it might help.

Maybe simple fixing up programs would be something people could work on. People could find neighbors to help each other and find out what the resources are. That would develop some sense of community and get people interested in the neighborhood.

But you have to find people who will do a good job. You think you'll get help and you get your expectations up, and you have to be sure it will be a good job.

Maybe there needs to be some kind of supervision, but it can be solved by people coming together.

Is C.A.R.E. dealing with the right issues? What more can/should be done?

C.A.R.E. addresses what we're bringing up. If we don't bring issues, they won't address them.

People want to get these cosmetic things out of the way. Maybe when we get past that we can deal with other things.

For instance, the Fleischman building is unresolved. When you get to these tougher issues it isn't clear what it will be like. Does C.A.R.E. have the wherewithal to deal with these things?

The park here isn't adequate. When we start asking those kinds of questions we aren't sure what the answers will be like.

C.A.R.E. has really brought people out. It is beneficial for the neighborhood.

What do you think of the format of the meetings? Time? Location? Setting? Should there be: childcare, transportation, translators, other advertising?

How can new people be reached?

I like the format. They do updates on old problems before we move on, and I like it that we have the minutes from the last meeting.

One little quirk is that if someone is a representative from the neighborhood organization they can only bring up one issue, and the organization tends to be a conduit for some people and we can't represent them.

But someone who is actually at the meeting should get to voice their problem first. It couldn't be very important if they won't come to the meeting.

Some people are afraid to voice their concerns at the meeting, and it undermines the neighborhood organization if we can't address concerns that residents bring to us.

The time, location, and setting are all fine.

Childcare: Mostly old people come, and their children are grown. We don't know if it would bring other people. We could try it once maybe.

Transportation: We get so many elderly out that it doesn't seem to be a problem. It seems that the majority of people who need rides have neighbors that they can get rides with.

Translators: I don't know. There are some Hmong and Spanish-speaking people, but they don't mingle much.

We need to get landlords at C.A.R.E. meetings.

Advertising in *The Northeaster* would be a good idea.

Maybe having specific advertising about the issues that are going to be addressed would bring out new people.

We have such good turnout that we probably have everybody who is interested.

Do you prefer Inspection sweeps or using Inspections through C.A.R.E.?

Both are useful.

With sweeps you find things that you wouldn't know about otherwise. There could be some blocks that no one ever comes from and no one ever knows about the problems.

I like the periodic sweeps. It's good to check on the neighborhood.

It made a big difference the last time they did a sweep and it stayed cleaned up for quite a while.

You are on good terms with your neighbor and don't want to complain about them. It can be awkward. But with the sweep it gets taken care of without people tattling on each other.

And the sweeps tend to get businesses and empty lots. You tend not to see things that you get used to.

We really like the sweeps and would not want to see them stopped.

Do you get things from C.A.R.E. that you don't get from CCP/Safe?

They don't deal with the same kind of problems. CCP/Safe is for crime problems and we haven't dealt with crime in C.A.R.E. meetings.

What is the ultimate goal of C.A.R.E. in your neighborhood?

I hope they clean up the whole neighborhood. This neighborhood has been a dumping ground for people for years.

There are going to be a lot of different issues. Can it sustain itself over time? Will there come a time when it can't go any further? Are the people who make decisions going to be involved in the process? I'd like to see it taken to another level. It should become a more sophisticated C.A.R.E. that affects policy.

We need someplace for the kids. Yet no one seems to care. They have nothing to do. MCDA should decide to do something with empty buildings for the neighborhood for a change. Give the kids someplace to go.

Maybe bringing in institutions like churches and nonprofits would be helpful. Maybe we need a social-institutional C.A.R.E. as well.

C.A.R.E. is here to help us in the neighborhood and we need people to come forward or we'll be in the same boat.

How do your experiences with C.A.R.E. compare to your experiences with the NRP?

C.A.R.E. has clear-cut goals. You identify problems and try to solve them.

NRP is a rat's maze in quicksand. The bureaucratic stuff takes months and years to get together. It's a quagmire. Expecting neighborhoods to come forward with grandiose plans with very little

support from NRP - they fall down. We need more help from city agencies. It burns the good people out. They get crapped on and vilified. And when the action plan is done the problems really start and you are facing implementation. It is more than volunteers can do. It is an impossible task. It is a tremendous process that isn't working very well.

There aren't too many happy people at those (NRP) meetings.

The problem is the process.

You get cut off at the knees. There is turmoil surrounding us while we try to develop an action plan for twenty years, and then there isn't enough money.

C.A.R.E. is everyday people like we are, but NRP is government.

APPENDIX B: GOVERNMENT STAFF INTERVIEWS

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GOVERNMENT STAFF INTERVIEWS

Introduction

Forty-five staff members from city and county government who are involved with C.A.R.E. were interviewed. They were selected to represent the levels of involvement of the various agencies, with Housing Inspections and Community Crime Prevention/Safe together comprising thirty-five percent of the respondents. (See Table 9, p. 67.) The interview questions varied slightly among different groups, but all respondents were asked about their history with C.A.R.E. and how well they thought it was currently working. There were four questions asked of all respondents. These inquired about C.A.R.E.'s distinctiveness, its strengths and weaknesses, any concerns they have about C.A.R.E., and how they envisioned the future of C.A.R.E. The answers to these four questions are grouped together in the excerpts that follow. The responses to these four questions have also been coded and tabulated to provide some indication of recurring comments.¹⁴ Any response that occurred more than once is listed. (See Table 11, p. 68.) In addition, Intervention Coordinators (ICs), government staff from various agencies who facilitate C.A.R.E. neighborhood meetings, were asked about their experiences and observations about the neighborhoods in which they work, and those questions and their responses follow. (See p. 98.) All interview notes have been edited to ensure anonymity.

¹⁴Comparable coding was attempted for the residents discussion groups, but those conversations were more far-ranging and did not lend themselves to this format. They are better understood as whole discussions.

Table 9

DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVIEWS
BY DEPARTMENT/AGENCY

<u>Department/Agency</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
NRP/C.A.R.E.	9
Housing Inspections	8
Community Crime Prevention/Safe	8
Mpls. Police Department	4
Henn. Co. Community Services	3
Henn. Co. Economic Assistance	2
Health Department	2
Mpls. Neighborhood Services	2
Mpls. Public Schools	2
Mpls. Public Housing Authority	1
Mpls. Planning Department	1
Mpls. City Attorney's Office	1
Mpls. Comm. Development Agency	1
Welfare Fraud	1
Total	45

Table 10

DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVIEWS
BY JOB TYPE

<u>Job Type</u>	<u>Number of Interviews</u>
Gov. Staff: Admin./Super.	14
Intervention Coordinators	12
Gov. Staff: Line	11
NRP/C.A.R.E. Staff	8*
Total	45

*One NRP/C.A.R.E. staff member was also an intervention coordinator and is counted under that designation.

Table 11

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW COMMENTS

	<u>Number of Comments</u>
<i>How is C.A.R.E. distinctive/unique?</i>	
Inter-agency approach	20
Focus on neighborhoods/grassroots	15
Educate people about government	10
Increased accountability	4
Short-term focus	3
No money	3
Encourages creativity	2
Other	<u>6</u>
Total	63

*What are C.A.R.E.'s strengths and weaknesses?*Strengths

Inter-agency approach	19
Neighborhood involvement	9
Increased communication	4
Action-oriented	4
Residents like it	3
Other	<u>6</u>
Total	45

Weaknesses

Not representative of communities	7
Power struggles among government staff	7
Expansion was too rapid	6
No emphasis on organizing neighborhoods	6
Doesn't deal with social issues	5
Problems with ICs	5
Strain on capacity	5
Need to pull in other agencies	4
Staff hasn't done its homework	3
Arrogance/elitism	2
Neighborhoods without C.A.R.E. suffer	2
Organizational/administrative problems	2
No mechanism to handle problems in meetings (priority, legitimacy)	2
Understaffed	2
Residents dump problems without learning or assuming responsibility	2
Other	<u>12</u>
Total	72

Number of Comments

What are your concerns about C.A.R.E.?

Not enough neighborhood involvement	13
Not representative/not enough diversity	10
Rapid expansion	9
Strain on capacity	9
Problems with ICs	8
Administrative problems	7
Increasing bureaucracy	6
Lack of planning/organization	6
Staff doesn't do homework	4
No mechanism to handle problems in meetings (priority, legitimacy)	4
Understaffed	3
City politics interfere	3
Focus is on enforcement	3
Need more agencies involved	3
None	3
Problems with the office	2
Other	<u>20</u>
Total	113

What do you envision for C.A.R.E. in the future?

Include more people/increase neighborhood involvement	11
Need some kind of centralized structure/oversight	6
Address social issues	6
Establish a plan/structure/criteria	5
It should become obsolete	4
Listen better	3
Problems with ICs	3
C.A.R.E. should be a building block for NRP	3
Other	<u>20</u>
Total	61

GOVERNMENT STAFF INTERVIEW NOTES

Is C.A.R.E. a distinctive/unique program? How is it distinctive?

The most distinctive thing is the multiple agency approach. Boundary issues have been broken down and people work together now. People *expect* government agencies to be incompetent and unresponsive, but that attitude has been changed because people are willing to go that extra mile to make C.A.R.E. work. There has been tremendous support by bureaucrats in the neighborhood. And the staff has a lot of knowledge, is willing to take risks and try things when others would just assume they wouldn't work. They give things a chance.

C.A.R.E. has resulted in better communication. We don't need C.A.R.E. to communicate, but it gets the ball rolling.

C.A.R.E. focuses as much as possible on the neighborhood then uses creativity to solve the problem. We try to listen to the neighborhood and change our thinking. It is good to have bureaucrats as facilitators because it energizes them, makes their job more fun, allows them to meet more people. Residents know we tried even on things that can't be solved. It *is* difficult. I have learned to think about meetings before I walk in, and to be respectful.

When C.A.R.E. started it was successful because it was very grassroots in Jordan. Government people were willing to try it and follow up.

C.A.R.E. is distinctive because you have to return to the next meeting and be accountable and *also* demand accountability from residents, and that's never happened before. Residents have to get more information, and they can do it through C.A.R.E.

C.A.R.E.'s novelty is interaction and in the bureaucracy this is a novelty. And it has demonstrated success on the synergy from that interaction. It isn't *only* a good idea, it is a good idea that *works*.

It is a weed program, not a seed program. At first I really believed in the concept of C.A.R.E., but at meetings people mostly want to get rid of derelicts and push them around the city. It isn't solving any problems, it is just helping one or two residents that are near a problem property.

People are able to see exactly what bureaucrats do for them, and if they aren't able to fix it the residents can understand why. They can see that government people *do* care as they learn about what government people do. I look forward to meetings because I can show them results and it makes them happy. People are happy about small results, and there are good results, but they don't stay. But people can still see that some action was taken on their complaint.

All C.A.R.E. is about is enforcing laws and rules. The social services part does not exist. It is not

being addressed. The C.A.R.E. staff does not know about connections with social services.

C.A.R.E. brings government out to the community. It breaks down a lot of the barriers in government: between county and city, within the county, within the city, and then out into the community. The community feels more comfortable about calling, asking, clarifying issues.

It increases the ability and power of the people as it gives them a sense of direction. C.A.R.E. causes old neighborhood regimes to face new leaders that emerge through C.A.R.E. People are happy about what they can do and feel like they have an active role in what gets done.

It gets the county and city working together. It gets government people to sit down with neighborhoods to talk things out.

Cooperation between different agencies. Now I work with them on a first name basis. And when residents call me up I recognize their voice. People feel free to call me and they know who to call.

C.A.R.E. is a way to educate people on how government operates, tell them what we do. They understand our limitations and know we do care. Mostly it's the communication process and the education process. Now people can take care of themselves. Citizen Inspectors is a take off from C.A.R.E. They send letters to their neighbors - it's stuff I don't even see. And they feel like they have some control. People feel more responsibility if they have the tools to do things.

C.A.R.E. is a fresher approach to going into neighborhoods. It's not rigid and gets more information from residents and government. It takes time out for education and has less of a socializing emphasis than some neighborhood programs. Government agencies act together more.

Residents get involved. At the meetings we learn a lot of background information that we could never get. All the input helps us do our job better. And people are willing to do things, like write impact statements and appear in court. It makes them feel empowered by doing things.

C.A.R.E. is unique because it looks at problems at the grassroots level and hears what neighborhood needs are there instead of holding a city-wide view. Some problems people might not care about because it isn't in their neighborhood. Most people are not concerned with the federal budget or the city budget even though they should be. But what they see when they get up in the morning affects their life. What they see every day is what they care about. With C.A.R.E., neighborhoods can identify what they need and government people can relate to them based on that.

We get to work with agencies we never worked with before, like Welfare Fraud. Now we can coordinate efforts.

Accountability makes C.A.R.E. distinct. Government people have to report back to the residents and also to other government people. Nobody wants to be the one person who screws up.

What can make C.A.R.E. what it should be is bringing together city and county agencies. C.A.R.E. has the power to make that happen and that is their special value. At times they go outside that role. Their focus needs to be on that and on increasing the number of agencies involved. As long as it maintains that mission it will be effective.

C.A.R.E. is unique because of access to the county agencies. It is also unique because they have the resources to manage information on a large scale.

Nothing makes C.A.R.E. unique.

It has the potential to be a distinctive program. I liked what I heard about in Jordan. Collaborative effort is good, but you don't necessarily need C.A.R.E. to do that, and it is only good if they really do include *all* perspectives.

The primary way in which C.A.R.E. is unique is that government staff take a personal interest in it. It becomes an avenue for them to be creative. The system frees them up more than it would otherwise. The intergovernmental aspect is less unique than it would have been ten years ago, but it is still good to encourage departments to talk to each other and keep working together. The citizen involvement piece is important, especially in neighborhoods that have good turnout at their meetings.

C.A.R.E. has more resources behind them than other programs, like CCP/Safe. And it can get action quicker.

C.A.R.E. is short-term. We can see results in some areas already in Jordan. With C.A.R.E. you can bring results in a short period of time. Neighborhoods themselves are solving some of their own problems. Government can help, but not all the time.

Neighborhood involvement. Bureaucrats are getting out of their ivory towers and are becoming visible, and educating citizens about the resources available. Quick turn-around action. C.A.R.E. makes things happen without conducting a study for six months before they do anything.

They can bring in county agencies more than we have been able to do. They can provide longer-term solutions than officers or the CCP/Safe team.

C.A.R.E. is an agent/broker that brings pieces together for creative problem solving. It is a logical concept of bringing resources to people. The neighborhoods are victims of the government process, which is top-down and doesn't listen. C.A.R.E. brings accountability. The personalities

of the C.A.R.E. staff are open-minded, thinkers, willing to take risks. Bob¹⁵ is a great leader.

In particular Jordan is distinctive because the community people reported that they were changed by C.A.R.E. At first they looked at it as another government boondoggle, but after a while they came to the conclusion that it is a model that works. People in the community saw government as being responsive.

C.A.R.E. empowers staff people to work with other departments and with the public. It puts the staff in the middle of the neighborhood people, talking to the customer. They actually trust government now. We need to work with the public to get solutions. C.A.R.E. committees come up with ways to get people to buy into moving toward a goal rather than just enforcing strict compliance. We can explain to people about due process, budget constraints, and it builds understanding.

The only thing is the fact that you have an outside facilitator, and the agencies report back to the meeting.

No money means no fighting. C.A.R.E. teaches people to work together, that they have to rely on each other.

C.A.R.E. works with larger units than CCP/Safe because it holds meetings that are on a larger scale than block clubs. It is community-based, and it is easier to get bureaucrats to come to community meetings because there is never enough time to go to block club meetings. CCP/Safe tells people who to call, but it isn't the same as telling bureaucrats face-to-face at meetings. And for individual blocks it is too much to understand all the city functions. C.A.R.E. staff know who to call and have someone you can get back to.

In C.A.R.E. the process is regular, rigid, scheduled. In C.A.R.E. the government does it for them, takes care of the problem. C.A.R.E. uses a government bureaucracy model that empowers government staff and helps them get results.

C.A.R.E. is a unique program because it brings all the resources together easily.

I think C.A.R.E. is unique because of the community base. Actually, the whole concept is unique.

C.A.R.E. has the advantage of having no money. It is a concept for a way of doing business, not a program.

C.A.R.E. is not a direct provider of services. It is a provider of resource awareness. C.A.R.E. is

¹⁵Bob Miller is the director of NRP/C.A.R.E.

relationship-based. There are no dollars attached but it uses existing resources.

C.A.R.E. is a nonentity that is adaptable to any situation. You can take it and use it anywhere. It is distinguished mostly by its relationship with people in government services, and also by making neighborhoods feel comfortable saying that they want things and can determine their own agenda.

The distinguishing aspects are immediate response to needs in neighborhoods.

C.A.R.E. and NRP start from the *same* premise that neighborhood resident input is necessary to determine what is important for present and future use of major resources, but that they can't do it alone. Neighborhood residents need the public sector to work with them.

NRP has money on the table, and C.A.R.E. doesn't have any money, which has its limitations but also helps manage expectations.

It's the first program I've ever seen that's had actual participation between residents and government people. With C.A.R.E. it's a project of working together, not confrontational. The complaint is followed up on, and if it can't be resolved they will know why. If we can explain what's happening they will accept it because there is credibility.

C.A.R.E. is unique and is not duplicative, but they are not necessarily taking advantage of other things that are going in neighborhoods.

What are C.A.R.E.'s strengths and weaknesses?

C.A.R.E.'s greatest strength is definitely the inter-agency approach. The work that needs to be done *cannot* be done alone. We *must* work as a team. C.A.R.E. has no control over anybody, but residents make government accountable and I think they (bureaucrats) like it because they get lots of rewards, too. The people from government encourage residents to call them directly. The agencies have been very receptive. The complaints have changed so that at one meeting recently a woman complained that the church choir sings too loud, so that means other troubles on her block have subsided. But we need more involvement, need to grow.

Increased communication is what C.A.R.E. is all about.

The strengths are its creativity, energy. Also its reputation, but that is both good and bad because it raises expectations about C.A.R.E. doing things. It should be the last resort.

Sometimes there are adversarial relationships between the staff and ICs, power struggles.

I wish the issues would change to more fundamental issues. Consider ways to get kids employed, economic issues, the schools should be more involved - not just safety issues. I also wonder if tenants are represented. It seems like it, but I'm not sure. I would like to see more younger people. I wish they would come. Maybe we need to meet at different times, different places, have a different intervention coordinator (IC)?

Its strengths are getting agencies to work together and with residents. Residents learn how hard it is to get things done and get an explanation if things can't get done. It helps build a bridge between government and residents, improves communication. The people who are involved are really concerned and take pride in their work.

A weakness is that ICs should share information about their success and some are reluctant to do that. They need to improve communication among C.A.R.E. staff and ICs also.

Government people feel threatened by C.A.R.E. because they are being held accountable and some of them don't like it; they feel insulted or something. Others are just resistant to change.

There is a lot of arrogance on the part of the C.A.R.E. staff.

Growth has added government people who are there just because they work in that district and not because they fit with C.A.R.E. They are just there because they have been told by their supervisor and consider it to be a part of their job. It is becoming mandatory and it should be voluntary.

By growing too fast, C.A.R.E. has gotten away from its grassroots beliefs and it is getting more political. It is becoming another bureaucratic arm of the government.

C.A.R.E. opens communication with government people. And I am very impressed with C.A.R.E. staff. They are very committed to what they are doing and seem well-organized. They are experiencing some growth and I'm not sure if it's too much. As the word about C.A.R.E. spreads more people want it in their neighborhoods. The program is growing and needs to find more committed people. It is important to avoid burnout. People have to pull back and take breaks. It can be really tough sometimes.

Community members continue to want more so that there is no pleasing them. It is a problem for capacity.

One frustration is that the machinery immediately underneath the upper-level management is not politically involved. The county administration at the bureau level hasn't supported it. Maybe it's because of the newness of it. It is moving from a prototype to an ongoing program. In the long-run I think it will be the model people go to: neighborhood teams to deal with the issues. But there needs to be more involvement, a wider array of people.

A weakness is that we can get criminal behavior to move, but actually solving the problem is much tougher. There is not communication between neighborhoods so a crack house may close in Jordan and those same license plate numbers show up in Central. Then the less organized neighborhoods are more vulnerable to criminal behavior.

Residents may sabotage meetings, and government people may sabotage meetings because they don't want it to succeed.

Miller says he will be responsible for pulling strings and getting people at the table, but then he doesn't do it because he's overloaded. Agencies drop-out because they are frustrated, and then Miller goes to shake them up, and it becomes an endless process.

Facilitators shouldn't have to be more than facilitators but it has become being more of a manager.

A strength is the inter-agency/interactive emphasis. Also, with C.A.R.E. *everyone* in the community has a voice.

The rapid expansion makes C.A.R.E. vulnerable. The inclusiveness makes it open to attack because some neighborhoods have been taken in without thinking about how they are going to work. People are not properly prepared, creating the possibility of discouragement on all parties. The lack of organization leaves C.A.R.E. open to attack. Some people (ICs) are too raw and need more experience before they are on their own.

People love it because its the first time they have had a way to get city government to listen to their problems. It's a pitiful statement, but true. People have a right to be excited about it. C.A.R.E. accomplishes a change in *effort*. There are positive things that can come out of C.A.R.E.

But I'm concerned about the process, about how you get there, and what you have when you're done. There is no debate about whether something is a good or a bad idea. There is no organizing being done. There is no mechanism for making sure complaints are neighborhood concerns.

C.A.R.E. doesn't work for everyone. It fits only certain personalities. That doesn't make people who don't fit with that personality bad. It should be optional for government people. C.A.R.E. is also not for every neighborhood.

Something that is a danger rather than a weakness is the rapid growth. Things tend to get watered down. Another danger is that C.A.R.E. is an incredible amount of work, and as we face budgetary constraints I am worried about its future. It is *very* labor intensive. Another danger is that of individual agendas.

We must be alert so that the meetings don't become vigilante/alarmist/protectionist. For example, someone may come to a meeting and say about a property, "We don't know what's going on in there." Well, this is America and maybe you don't have a right to know.

I honestly can't think of any strengths, and I was one of those people who really believed in the concept.

Weaknesses are lack of focus, lack of direction, lack of definition of roles for NRP/C.A.R.E. staff, and ICs. There are a lot of things ICs have been asked to take over because C.A.R.E. staff members can't do it or won't do it.

A strength is that it got the County Board and City Council to talk to each other and work together and it gets state representatives involved in local politics from time to time. It pulls in powerful people. And empowering residents is great. They have control over what happens in their community.

We don't get the minutes on time. We used to get them a few days after the meeting, but now we don't get them until the night of the meeting.

It creates good interworkings of the staffs of different agencies, and pulls people together. It would be good if they brought in the school system more. A big plus is to have contacts in the city and the county - it helps the individual to be at the table.

They do not have enough staff to keep on top of things.

A big weakness is diversity. Also, now the support is spread too thin. They are not working out problems between different departments and agencies to resolution. Breakdown in communication causes loss of participation. It brings unhappy people to the table and they do not form a team.

Then you have problems assigning tasks.

People in neighborhoods without C.A.R.E. suffer because of time spent on C.A.R.E. neighborhoods.

The main strength is that it gives some accountability and builds relationships between agencies and the community.

The strengths are the communication, the education, and that it is successful.

A weakness is that there has been retaliation in the neighborhood. The problem people will retaliate against those who bring the problems up.

I don't know if this is a weakness as much as a matter of education. I think residents are used to bringing problems and dumping them to let us fix it. The strengths are the coordinated efforts, more resources, knowing who to call.

The neighborhood organization is *very* important to C.A.R.E. being effective. C.A.R.E. and the neighborhood organization can and should compliment each other. The success in Jordan was dependent on JACC.¹⁶ In Lyndale the emphasis is more on youth and families and they are not built on the block club system. It is a different philosophy, a different emphasis. In Lyndale the issues aren't screened and there is less group involvement than in Jordan. The facilitator is the other important key factor.

Its interagency role is without a doubt its greatest strength. It is what makes C.A.R.E. effective.

A weakness is that it still needs to make sure that residents are a part of the picture. There needs to be as many people as possible involved. C.A.R.E. needs to continue to work towards this.

They need to weed out single issue problems that can be handled with a phone call.

C.A.R.E. needs to have greater participation by minorities at their meetings, and to encourage block club participation and formation.

A weakness is that they haven't done their homework before diving into neighborhoods, so problems and perceptions are not looked at thoroughly. You should know what kind of game you have to play before you get there.

The ability to bring in county resources. They have an overview of the poorest, toughest

¹⁶The Jordan Area Community Council

neighborhoods in Minneapolis and have lots of information. And the community responds positively to C.A.R.E. I like the idea, it makes sense, and the people in the neighborhood like it.

The weakness is that they are simply not pushing hard enough at supporting the organization of block clubs. The C.A.R.E. process requires an active block club and they have an obligation to help with that.

C.A.R.E. doesn't have any strengths. Its weaknesses are that there is poor communication by the C.A.R.E. staff, the tone of the meetings is unfriendly, it is duplicative of CCP/Safe, and they have an unclear mission. Also, instead of encouraging residents to form block clubs, C.A.R.E. just takes care of problems for them.

It takes a lot of my staff time. I will need to ask the neighborhood what they want me to give up in order to do C.A.R.E. things.

C.A.R.E. takes credit for things people in the neighborhood were already working on.

We were told that lots of county people would be involved and that hasn't happened.

C.A.R.E. allows people to be involved in the problem but also removed from the problem. They have a sense of citizen participation without being in danger. We need a more impersonal institution like C.A.R.E. to handle things because of the fear. I think C.A.R.E. gives people at least some respite until we find a larger solution to city problems.

C.A.R.E. really needs to focus on including more people. How do we safely talk with our neighbors? It would be interesting to know about the people who leave when a property is shut down. Who are they?

It has allowed a network with other agencies, because at first everyone showed up. The philosophy and concept is good, however, the only agencies represented now are Housing Inspections and the police. C.A.R.E. is basically not paying its bills.

I have a problem with a facilitator from an agency that is supposed to report to the meeting directing other city employees in their jobs. This is a cause of friction that doesn't have to exist.

Its strength is that it is going out and providing services and getting people together.

C.A.R.E.'s strength is neighborhood involvement. The results are good. And the Citizen Inspector program is great. Its weakness is that it is becoming more political. Some council members are getting involved, and the combination with NRP and the money raises some questions.

C.A.R.E. has been able to make good connections with the county structure. They get to the right

people with Bob's leadership, and can get things done.

We need to not go so global that we can't solve today's problems. People want to see action. C.A.R.E. builds on small successes rather than on a grandiose plan. Clearly there is a need for both NRP and C.A.R.E.

C.A.R.E. creates collaboration. It has forced bureaucrats to get to know each other and at all levels. We never talked before but have now learned about mutual problems and C.A.R.E. has been the catalyst for that. You'll hear lots of success stories about that.

The facilitated approach is good, but it needs to spread to the neighborhood to facilitate its own meeting, otherwise is it really empowering? Empowerment is the ability of people to affect their own lives. Simply reporting a problem and getting feedback is not empowerment. More participation in resolution of the problems is empowerment. What is the responsibility of the person after they leave the meeting? Are they learning tasks? Do they have a sense of responsibility?

It was not the intention to duplicate CCP/Safe, because C.A.R.E. was to pull in county resources, and that has been difficult for CCP/Safe to do. Miller was able to pull the county people in, but it isn't happening as much as we had hoped. C.A.R.E. was intended to work on a higher level of problem-solving. For instance, the Rental Property Owners Group is a longer-term solution and a bigger process than CCP/Safe can do. In C.A.R.E. neighborhoods at first more got done just because of the increase of staff working in that neighborhood, but now ICs just facilitate meetings, which makes it seem more duplicative. I see a continuum of long-term problem solving with the officer as the most short-term, then the CCP/Safe team as a bit more with referrals and mediation services, then C.A.R.E. to bring in resources to solve problems for families that need them, not just move them around. I saw C.A.R.E. as working toward solutions that are longer-term than eviction. There needs to be a description of what C.A.R.E. is and what C.A.R.E. does.

The basic premise is the strength: the community has a voice and it should be heard. The community should participate in setting priorities. A weakness is the differing abilities of the ICs, and the varying degrees to which they embrace the right of the community to be involved.

The facilitators program is excellent. We want our staff to be facilitators and problem-solvers. I'd like to have the entire staff involved in a C.A.R.E. committee because it makes them better at their jobs. It keeps them from getting distracted by less important problems. Once staff make connections with neighborhoods attitudes change. I'd like to see more C.A.R.E. committees. I maintain that over time more resources get freed up as a C.A.R.E. committee gets established because we spend time dealing with the most troubling problems. Most of the time the C.A.R.E. committee keeps issues focused on what's troubling the neighborhood. Our department is able to respond to change because we've learned to work with the C.A.R.E. model.

I like the idea of C.A.R.E. and think it can work, but it got too big too soon. Not all agencies have been brought into it (police, county, schools, and parks). C.A.R.E. doesn't ask a lot, but it is a different way of thinking, a different philosophy. C.A.R.E. allows police and the community to interact more and become cohesive. C.A.R.E. gets people in supervisory positions out of the bureaucracy to see the community.

I like the idea of pulling together bureaucrats with users in a way that allows actions to happen fairly quickly and involves different agencies. I can't think of anything else I've heard of that would get people more in tune with city and county government. But in order to remain viable it must get beyond the police action mentality and move beyond simple enforcement. So what if you succeed in banding together and getting someone out of the neighborhood. They just move to someone else's neighborhood. C.A.R.E. seems to be structured and on its path to enforcement, but even CCP/Safe understands that you have to do more than that. C.A.R.E. is too limited right now.

C.A.R.E.'s strengths are that it is action-oriented, it brings bureaucrats together who don't have formal structures to do that, and it does allow residents to define the problems that get worked on. Its weakness is that it doesn't go far enough in terms of the kinds of things they look at and the kinds of services offered. It appears that it attracts a very small section of the population. Poor people have more problems than white homeowners do.

C.A.R.E.'s greatest strength is their enthusiasm, their willingness to take on something very difficult. They are not put off by the politics of a given situation. They don't say something is too hard, and there is no reluctance to take things on. C.A.R.E.'s weakness is that they think they know everything. They need to respect people who already work in the community and already have a lot of history and knowledge in the community. We are looking for *collaboration*, not a new layer of administration. We want C.A.R.E. to become part of a *team*.

C.A.R.E. does a good job working with city and county agencies, but it doesn't do a good job of working with grassroots organizations. It makes no sense to do the midweek planning without neighborhood staff.

C.A.R.E. comes in as a freestanding group that isn't accountable to any other structure. Identification of problems doesn't have a process to make sure it is a neighborhood problem rather than an individual problem. In Jordan C.A.R.E. was accountable to the process and it helped build community through the block club network. C.A.R.E. took the model built in Jordan and lost its soul: the community. It replicated the bare bones and lost its life. Citizens view it as a positive thing to solve problems, and I grant them that. My concern is with the process in the neighborhood and what it leaves behind it.

Is C.A.R.E. something that goes on ad nauseam? What happens when its gone? What work gets carried on? Instead of building a stronger neighborhood it sets up a corrupting structure. In neighborhoods where it succeeds at building community, it is happenstance and not part of the

structure. At a meeting in Powderhorn Park there was discussion to remove some public phones, and they were all set to do it until one person spoke up and said, wait a minute, there are legitimate uses for those phones, and not everyone has a phone. But if that one person hadn't been there, that view would not have been considered. There's nothing being done to work on overall policy or philosophy.

In any given meeting almost every problem involves blacks or hispanics and everyone at the meeting is white. Regardless of intent, it casts a tone, an image. Because the people who show up aren't accountable to anybody and give directives to city government, it is open to conspiracy theories. Why isn't there accountability there? It could be easily built in something like C.A.R.E.

An advantage of C.A.R.E. is that the different public agencies, with different perspectives, have a chance to focus on a problem before it becomes a crisis. Potluck gatherings are very good because it gets people to sit down together and has an equalizing effect because everyone can participate equally. Everyone brings something to share.

C.A.R.E. does help neighborhoods with critical issues, and they do bring resources to the neighborhood. But a short-term approach may result in the resolution of one problem resulting in another - a problem property may become an abandoned home.

Its main strength is maintaining credibility by working one on one on problems in an environment that is anti-government. This is one of the ways people can make a difference in their communities. Jordan was a perfect community for C.A.R.E. because it was just starting to go bad. They were facing new problems and we were able to stem it working together. When they tried it in Phillips and Central there have been gangs, criminals, transients, and it is much more difficult to deal with the problems. People feel threatened. These have to be dealt with in another way, and C.A.R.E. is learning. You have to find out the interworkings of a neighborhood before you can deal with them. C.A.R.E. is learning that. C.A.R.E.'s biggest problem is learning to deal with those personalities.

What are your concerns about C.A.R.E.?

No major concerns. We need more involvement from MCDA to get more minority property owners. There is not enough minority involvement.

Problems that come up in C.A.R.E. meetings are pushed onto the same people over and over again. They need participation from county units, welfare, other social services. It isn't good to have everything shoved onto Inspections and the police. If it doesn't happen there will be burnout. Some people are frustrated. Citizen Inspectors is one way to help with the strain on Inspections.

The editorials may be right. The program *may* be a quasi-military extension of the police force. I wrestle with it. Is there something in the structure of how it is set up that causes this?

The office is in a shambles. They need an office manager.

The expansion has been too much, too fast. It is becoming a bureaucracy. It is a political arm of the government now.

Resources are spread pretty thin and people get burned out. Being a facilitator is another headache.

C.A.R.E. is not currently cross-referencing information. It is not doing what it was set up to do. It is now becoming the second or third level of paper shuffling without results. It is on a downward spiral.

If you look at the age groups you will see that the people who attend are mostly middle-aged, who no longer have kids at home. There are not many young people involved because if they have kids at home they are too busy and too tired. I would like to see if there is some way to draw them in.

Miller has taken on too much. He has to let go and form a secondary level of administration that has decision-making authority. He has to delegate. He has to look at the large government entities and get representatives. The quality of the program has declined because the necessary cooperative agencies need to be dealt with at a high level and it is not being done.

The expansion is definitely a problem. It was too much at five neighborhoods, now they are having difficulty finding ICs and staff. C.A.R.E. is growing so fast that the support that used to be there for ICs isn't there. They should have had an action plan. The expansion is going to kill C.A.R.E.

It is an issue that CCP/Safe is basically doing the work of the C.A.R.E. Committee. We want some support with organizing. We need to rethink these roles and see what people ought to do.

Due to the rapid expansion they are using ICs who have never attended C.A.R.E. meetings, who are naive about the streets. They are running them through too fast. They have to be more careful about ICs.

The office is a mess. Staff morale is low.

A major problem is that when you need an answer, when a decision has to be made, there is no one to do it. How do we get a decision? Everything stops at Miller's desk.

A conceptual concern I have is that the bottom-up percolation occurs in the absence of a mission or clear leadership role for the facilitator, in the vacuum of a dysfunctional neighborhood. What is the leadership role of C.A.R.E.? What is the leadership role of a facilitator? What is the facilitator's role when he/she has information and knows how to solve a problem? Should he/she let the neighborhood flounder or inject a little top-down approach? Is it our job to guide or to lead?

C.A.R.E. Committees do not mirror the community at present. The possibility of a band of renegades with an agenda controlling things is only held in check by one individual and not by policy.

The IC should be very involved with the board of the community council in order to be in tune with their wants/needs/changes/dynamics. Where does an IC fit in that? The pressure is on an IC as an individual, not as a position. C.A.R.E. doesn't provide much direction. I wonder sometimes, did the neighborhood invite one thing and get another?

Truly we need to be building bridges between people. It would be nice if there were a more human way for C.A.R.E. to operate. We need other ways than sticks.

I believe in neighborhoods making decisions, but I don't see that happening.

C.A.R.E. staff does not show respect, they have no procedures, and everything remains the same. No one within C.A.R.E. is held accountable. C.A.R.E. needs to be monitored.

Bob *cannot* run both programs. Someone needs to make decisions, but Bob has to have his hands in *everything*. No one will make any major decisions, no one will come out and take a stand. There is no emphasis on development or planning. Nothing is well thought out. Everything is spontaneous. C.A.R.E. problems are constant.

There is no organizational plan. I have the sense that the staff doesn't even understand what that is. There is too much planning and not enough organizing in the background of the C.A.R.E. staff.

What is the direction? There are a lot of people standing in line to talk to Bob, but they've

stopped calling. You can't get decisions made. It's a big problem. Contact at the top has been cut off.

It has become a political football with politicians saying C.A.R.E. should be in every neighborhood. What about after C.A.R.E.? It needs to be self-limiting. We have to convince neighborhoods that they don't need us anymore. We have to be able to leave.

A problem is that it has become too much time with no money to departments and this is a big issue. The regular job has to come first.

C.A.R.E. is very new and it needs direction, but things are just stopped. It's a big frustration. There isn't consistency in various C.A.R.E. committees. I believe in C.A.R.E., but you have to have the resources available to bring to the table.

I don't have any concerns about C.A.R.E.:

They need more residents at their meetings. They tend to talk about issues that occur near the meeting place, so it seems the people who live nearby are the ones who come. They need to attract people from a more widespread area. We work on issues in other parts of the neighborhood and don't have a contact. It seems they only get the real active people but we don't really know how it's impacting the average citizen. And what are the concerns of the people of color? What are they dealing with? And they don't get a lot of property owners at the C.A.R.E. meetings.

C.A.R.E. doesn't let residents take ownership of their problems. They just go fix it. They need to make sure there is neighborhood involvement. There isn't agreement on a solution for the problem between residents and government staff. There isn't agreement about the steps that have to be followed in the process and what follow-through is required by the residents.

I wish there was integration with the business association and the property owners association. I am concerned that C.A.R.E. is going to stick together. I hear people are unhappy with it, but I think it is a good thing. I hope it doesn't dwindle.

Splinter projects take away energy from the main activity. Housing Connections is good, but it may be duplicative. They don't need to create another program if existing ones can handle it. Creating more programs and weeding out bureaucracy is my real concern.

I wonder if C.A.R.E. has a competing role with the neighborhood organization. Can they be joined together in some way? Is there competition between them? In Jordan, C.A.R.E. is an arm of JACC, but in other neighborhoods it is more of a separate entity.

The early expectation was that residents would bring issues through block clubs and that C.A.R.E. would encourage that. But for a long time people would just come to meetings and drop problem

addresses off.

I have seen regression in the block leaders. Long-time block leaders who have the tools to deal with problems brought them to C.A.R.E. meetings to have someone else take care of them. I have been shocked to see people who were formerly able to take care of themselves bringing problems to C.A.R.E. meetings to have other people take care of them.

What is C.A.R.E.'s structure? If there isn't some kind of structure created it will not remain a viable tool. How can staff burnout be prevented?

I am uncomfortable with the way meetings are facilitated. They are run without humor, without feeling. If I were a neighbor I would feel really uptight at C.A.R.E. meeting. The mood is condescending.

It feels like CCP/Safe and C.A.R.E. are in direct competition.

The big concern is growth. Can they handle it? They can only be in so many places and do so much. I'd like to see it work. The program deserves a budget to support it. It is one of the better programs I've ever worked with and I've seen a lot of programs come and go. C.A.R.E. is effective. The results are good.

C.A.R.E. needed to do a better job of understanding the neighborhood before they came in. It is a pretty sophisticated neighborhood with a lot of skill already. C.A.R.E. hasn't recognized the level of involvement that was already there.

There is a danger of C.A.R.E. taking the place of vital, grassroots organizations that really are people's initiatives. There is a danger of C.A.R.E. becoming the government agency that takes care of grassroots activity for people, and that would be a big loss.

Our perspective is to teach people to do things by themselves. Don't call Inspections for somebody, give them the number and tell them how to do it so the next time they can do it for themselves. My goal is to teach people to do without me. People come to C.A.R.E. and give the problems to city staff, and no strong community involvement is encouraged. What people learn is how to give problems away. Some people in government might be comfortable with C.A.R.E. because it doesn't teach people to do things, and it doesn't build citizenship.

I would like there to be city and county directories at every meeting, and when single agency problems come up, a resident can just look it up, give out the phone number and ask that person to call and report back, and then move on to another problem. That way some of the problems could be lower priority.

Facilitators need to have better training about the community. There needs to be better screening

of the issues. When a resident says "There are a lot of people living in that apartment" there needs to be an assessment. Is that a common issue? Is that really a livability issue, or is a nosey issue? Or is it a racist issue? It needs to be looked into more carefully.

I am concerned that C.A.R.E. has moved from organizing services to being a service provider.

None. My experience has been very positive.

C.A.R.E. is currently pro-landlord. There has to be a component of C.A.R.E. that focuses on tenants needs. There should be a tenants manual that matches the landlords manual. C.A.R.E. has a responsibility to make sure complaints are warranted.

C.A.R.E. doesn't pay the bills but takes all the credit. C.A.R.E. requires the city and county to pay overtime, and someone should be reimbursed for that.

C.A.R.E. issues don't meet the requirements of a CCP/Safe issue. You need criteria in case there is, for example, a problem with race. When you find out too late that that was really the problem, then the resources are already spent.

C.A.R.E. gives people credence for their problems, and it is walking a fine line when there are neighborhood politics involved. Is it good? I don't know.

Why won't social services get involved? Is C.A.R.E. overwhelming programs/government services by seeking out neighborhood input? C.A.R.E. can't set parameters around the problems that come up.

C.A.R.E. needs to reach out to the new superintendent of schools, and work to reestablish and renew the commitment of participating groups regularly.

That the neighborhoods stay involved. It shouldn't go to politics. If politicians take control of it, then I think it will die. If it becomes too political then people will view it as part of big government. People need to keep control of C.A.R.E. It's theirs, to address their concerns.

As C.A.R.E. grows our department will have more problems with being visible because of staffing problems. Basic capacity concerns are an issue for us.

It is outrageous that Miller, the head of both NRP and C.A.R.E., is attending neighborhood meetings. He should be delegating that, and this is only one example of what he should be delegating.

C.A.R.E. is not following through on the next step in problem-solving, to bring in longer-term solutions. C.A.R.E. is not bringing in the county enough. In Jordan they made real progress and

now neighborhoods see C.A.R.E. as the next savior and they all want it.

Is this an empowerment model? It will not work without community involvement. It causes a conflict for CCP/Safe because we will not work on a problem unless people are willing to work with us. We have stated criteria and I don't see that C.A.R.E. has that. It seem like C.A.R.E. does things *for* residents.

In Jordan people had to get agreement on a problem and there was a screening process before it went to C.A.R.E. The residents agreed to do that work. Basically, we couldn't afford to duplicate Jordan. What happens is you get a great process and forget why/how we created it and try to use it everywhere. But not everything is appropriate everywhere. They compromised the model in order to expand it.

C.A.R.E. has proved its value, but politics of the city and county may interfere, slow it down, or stop it. ICs need to be full-time employees of the C.A.R.E. staff. The rest of the people should fill in as needed and asked to attend as needed. That would help with the strain on capacity. I have to look at it from a staffing standpoint. We haven't fully been able to learn because the growth has been too fast, both for the residents demanding services and the people available to provide those services. But it is difficult to tell people with problems that they have to wait. I feared that C.A.R.E. would be a whole new level of bureaucracy and it seems to be happening.

When kids are an issue at C.A.R.E. meetings it tends not to be related to schools. People who attend the meetings tend to be middle-aged and their kids are grown. In the priorities that are brought to the table, they tend to not include kids.

No one is assigned the duty of making sure the representation at the C.A.R.E. meetings is fair.

I do have a concern. I don't know how much of the early success was a function of the model or of Bob Miller. My hypothesis is that Bob Miller is largely responsible for what happened in Jordan. As C.A.R.E. expands, since we can't clone Bob Miller, I don't know how well it will do in other neighborhoods.

How far can we continue to expand the C.A.R.E. concept and be effective? Do existing resources establish a limit beyond which we *should* not go? Also, how do you identify community? Who gets to have a voice? Which voice do you listen to? It is a continuing question. Do you work with a neighborhood organization with duly elected officials but who are not representative of the community?

C.A.R.E. needs to be a part of the NRP process. That still needs to happen. C.A.R.E. is trying to get neighborhoods into the problem-solving mode, and NRP workshops with all the money affects people's thinking - people get greedy. A lot of the neighborhoods are not ready for NRP. They don't know how to do the long-range planning, conduct meetings, aren't sensitive to affirmative

action. The movers and shakers tend to dominate NRP meetings. How do we make people get into participation? We need a way to professionally go in and get people's input. C.A.R.E. committees get people to focus on problems without confusion about planning and money issues.

How do we get out of the way of ourselves?

I have been wondering about whether a C.A.R.E. committee can become a vigilante group. How do we address concerns other than homeowners? I sense that most of the involvement is by homeowners. It is a component that neither NRP nor C.A.R.E. has been able to deal with. We can't put participation requirements on C.A.R.E. meetings, but there has to be a way to get other voices in there. Renters feel as frustrated as homeowners, I'm sure. Everyone wants landlords to rent to good people and to take care of their buildings.

There should be criteria up front about how C.A.R.E. is going to fit into the neighborhood so that it doesn't diminish existing neighborhood organization. C.A.R.E. is hampering organizing efforts.

How do we see C.A.R.E. evolving?

I really don't know if the community is supposed to have a role in solving the problems or if they just report to the bureaucrats who take care of it. If the latter is the case, it's just another welfare program. If the residents are not going to take part of the action then I'll do my business elsewhere.

I have heard some rumbling that C.A.R.E. attracts mainly white homeowners who tend to target renters and people of color in the meetings. Facilitators do have responsibility to look carefully at the problems that come up and make sure that we don't harm people unnecessarily. It concerns me that C.A.R.E. doesn't see that it is responsible for outcomes that result from C.A.R.E. meetings. Why aren't they responsible for some portion? They are willing to claim successes, but not problems.

How can we interact with C.A.R.E. in a way that doesn't debilitate us because of the strain on capacity? And I am concerned that once plans are made maintenance costs could be a major issue. It takes money out of our budget. There is no benefit to us to trade-off for the additional burden of work. It has the potential to be very cumbersome, given the number of neighborhoods.

There were lower expectations at first. No one knew what would happen in Jordan and Lyndale. Success has raised people's expectations. The time has been compressed in the expectation of change. We need to set realistic expectations for neighborhoods.

What are they (C.A.R.E. staff) believers in? If the goal is to bring neighborhoods and government staff together in such a way that they deal with *pressing* problems and have accountability as an organizational component, that would be great. If the goal is to have a stronger neighborhood

group with ties to the city and a city with a neighborhood focus, C.A.R.E. could be a perfect piece. but they've taken the bare bones and lost the flesh and the soul.

Why aren't some residents responding? What happens to the residents who attend several meetings and then drop out?

The first concern is with community representation. It is my understanding that people of color are not heavily involved, but the people involved with our department are largely people of color. Yet they are not involved in the decisions that are being made at C.A.R.E. meetings.

It is hard to figure out how different community efforts overlap. It is hard to figure out the focus. How does C.A.R.E. fit in the big picture?

It is expanding too fast. It has all the earmarks of a process that has run amok. So much depends on the intervention coordinators, and the training doesn't even begin to deal with conflict resolution or capacity building. They miss a big piece. As issues come up, Bob dictates a solution and there is no process for learning to resolve issues.

C.A.R.E. is understaffed. Everyone is overworked.

There are real political factions in the neighborhood and they need to stay on top of that. Using block clubs would have helped with that. C.A.R.E. worked well in Jordan because it was clear who would be responsible for organizing the neighborhood. Other neighborhoods have had the expectation that C.A.R.E. would come in and fix tough problems and bring a bunch of new ideas, but that hasn't been the case.

How does C.A.R.E. report back to its constituency? How does it keep in touch with everyone affected? Given the volatility of some neighborhoods they should use fax and other means to keep people up to date.

C.A.R.E. needs to carefully recruit staff in order to be able to continue to provide services. C.A.R.E. needs to get a budget commitment from other agencies.

The rate of growth is a concern. Is effectiveness diminished?

The merger with NRP makes sense, but how should it be done? We need to avoid neighborhoods getting caught in the crossfire. Does C.A.R.E. need to be C.A.R.E.? Can it succeed in NRP?

C.A.R.E. staff is over-extended. There needs to be more staff or things will start slipping through the cracks.

I'm concerned about the newest neighborhoods and how to make it work smoothly. How is

further expansion going to work? How big should C.A.R.E. get? How does C.A.R.E. keep doing it well?

I am bothered by some of the elitism on the part of the C.A.R.E. staff. My view is often discounted.

The relationship with the NRP staff is unclear overall.

I have a philosophical concern about seeing the community as customers. I am concerned about going overboard with that. There needs to be a balance between leadership and a community base. How do we get that balance? It *is* the role of government to ensure fairness. Without leadership to drive it, C.A.R.E. may lose that fairness. We *do* have a mandate. We *do* provide a particular service. No car company allows its decisions to be completely determined by consumers. They also rely on experts.

How do NRP and C.A.R.E. fold together? The money from NRP adds stress, and C.A.R.E. is a model for relationship building.

What do you envision for C.A.R.E. in the future?

It should become obsolete. We should be able to close up and go home (I don't think that will happen). We should define what we do best and go from there. C.A.R.E. works well at bringing people together, facilitating, but leave it at that. We need to give up the feel-goods we get because we're involved. We need to get our jollies somewhere else. We need to get out of the way and let it happen.

C.A.R.E. has to understand that if they want a partnership, they have to work *with* us.

I'd like to see that C.A.R.E. would no longer be needed but that neighborhood groups continue to meet. When it is no longer needed then it will be a success.

There needs to be coordinated effort in C.A.R.E. with representatives from the larger entities to oversee C.A.R.E. efforts and to keep up communication. C.A.R.E.'s strength is in identifying and cleaning up problems. Then they should hand things over to NRP for long-range planning, then they should leave.

City planning needs to be involved to see what's really there in the community to compare with what's going on at C.A.R.E. meetings. We should deliver services in response to the profile of the neighborhood. We need to educate ourselves with data provided by city planning. We need to use the profile for guidelines in marketing C.A.R.E. It is a product, and a good product, but we may be trying to cram a size nine on a size thirteen foot.

C.A.R.E. needs to be opened up. There needs to be a mechanism to open it up. This requires opening the issues that are being dealt with.

We need to have better interaction with community councils. The future will be good if we can understand the changes in a neighborhood well and make the changes a journey instead of a sentence.

Government people are able to stay in hiding only because the community is not educated. C.A.R.E. is a vehicle for that education. If government is called upon by residents and they don't respond, the residents will know how to hold them accountable and they will be exposed.

On top of the core of mundane concerns that is in place now, I see more education, developing profiles, and outreach. In the longer-term I see a core C.A.R.E. Committee with satellites for marketing, owners' groups, tenants' groups, etc., like spokes in a wheel working in harmony. We need to accommodate different factions with different needs/issues in order to include more people.

C.A.R.E. is a lot of work and it is piggybacking on people's regular jobs. It needs to be straightened out and given direction. We also need to address how to resolve issues on the *social*

side.

The ICs should be paid a stipend. You can put that in all capitals.

The training was worthless for me, but not for everyone. But the question is do you need to pick another type of person for being an IC? Is the person who works behind a desk all day really the right person for the job? C.A.R.E. should have its own full-time staff doing this. They should just get the money and plan a program. As a functioning staff they can work together and feed off each other. ICs are too spread out, communication is limited. Ongoing interaction would be much better.

I'm afraid it is growing too fast. It is becoming a bureaucratic institution and becoming less effective. I would like to see it become one group of people on special C.A.R.E. issues working with some consistency. Use the same people with it becoming more of their jobs to work with C.A.R.E.

C.A.R.E. should definitely be continued. Neighborhoods should have C.A.R.E. for about two years before they start the NRP process. Maybe C.A.R.E. can help higher density neighborhoods and empower those people more. It needs to be less focused on homeowners.

C.A.R.E. is the government of the future.

If C.A.R.E. is in all the neighborhoods then the problems wouldn't move from one neighborhood to another. Right now a neighborhood without C.A.R.E. is more likely to get the problems. Maybe C.A.R.E. could take another form and help the people instead of moving them around the city.

I see a progression. C.A.R.E. started as a connection between city and county agencies. For the future I would like to see greater involvement by city and county *social* agencies. We can be much more successful long-term if they are involved. We need to deal with the issue rather than the symptoms.

They need to develop criteria for which neighborhoods fit with C.A.R.E. and need it. They need to spell out clearly what is needed to make C.A.R.E. work, and assign responsibilities to make it work. They need to stop growth completely until they deal with some of these things.

They need to figure out when C.A.R.E. ends, when they should leave a neighborhood.

My hope for C.A.R.E. is that we broaden out more, so that when there is a family in distress we bring them the services they need. The enforcement piece is easier, and what is much more difficult is the human piece of C.A.R.E. How do we interact with families so everybody wins? If C.A.R.E. can get that human piece in, it will be well-rounded. Other programs need to be spun off

from C.A.R.E.

C.A.R.E. could tie into community education by urging classes in neighborhood schools that would improve the neighborhood. Even night courses could be arranged on things like negotiating a lease or winterizing your home. The programs can be adapted to community needs. They might be able to work with the PTA.

The idea is of harmonizing community, but they need more equal representation, then judgments would be fair. C.A.R.E. ought to treat all people with respect. People are innocent until proven guilty. C.A.R.E. needs to fight stereotypes rather than enforce them, and deal with people as people.

I hope that communities that have C.A.R.E. right now become inclusive and empowered. I hope that neighborhoods that need trust, information, and education can access C.A.R.E. I hope the message of partnership is what people hear and understand. C.A.R.E. must stay true to the mission. Don't constantly nurture.

I personally want C.A.R.E. to go away. Our work suffers because of C.A.R.E.

C.A.R.E. *can* work with direction, but the future looks bleak. I'm ready to take a lesser role. I'd love to see it go on because it is a wonderful concept but it has to be rethought. You have to build a community before you throw money at it.

C.A.R.E. isn't for everybody. It is just not going to work in every area. I doubt all areas will want to commit the time or want to do something like this. More people are needed to split the load. I wonder how long a person can keep that work up. I worry about burnout.

There could be one C.A.R.E. committee for the whole city to handle really tough problems. I would like to see C.A.R.E. work more with owners and landlords. There is a real need for that. Landlords need different information and have different interests.

The vision is enunciating the master plan from the beginning: make sure neighborhoods stay involved and are connected with agencies. We need to talk more than ever about mutual issues. Whatever C.A.R.E. can do to foster that would be welcome. And C.A.R.E. can help in neighborhoods where there isn't a good understanding of what the needs of our clients are. There can be a meeting of the minds with the struggles of the people who need assistance. It can foster understanding and bring the constituency together. I don't have any vehicle to do that.

They need full-time staff for ICs. The rest of us should be used on an as needed basis. I wouldn't mind going to monthly meetings to discuss general issues from all the different disciplines involved in order to stay on top of what's going on. And then we could get the resources to where they are the most needed. There needs to be a central organization to oversee it all and make sure the

message is the same across all neighborhoods.

When you fill a balloon to bursting how do you know what you're going to have after it bursts? The ideal situation would be if C.A.R.E. would figure out what they do well and stay with it, and figure out what they don't do well and dump it or change it. They should define short-term and stay with that (two weeks or two years?). They need to define what they do and learn to say no.

Minimize impact of politics. Revitalize the city, provide fuller spectrum of services to communities by using the opportunities provided by both NRP and C.A.R.E. Help communities build capacity through education.

I see the C.A.R.E. model adapted to NRP so that small successes are used to support long-range planning, and planning incorporates resources early on. C.A.R.E. can provide facilitators and training.

I think they should be set up more as a resource team so they can look at issues in the neighborhood and coordinate activities better. It would use resources more wisely.

There needs to be ongoing evaluation built into C.A.R.E. They need to ask, who is not at their meetings and why, who are they reaching.

C.A.R.E. should be able to broker between residents and government resources and foster *exchange* between communities and the providers of resources. Establish a "way of doing business."

There should be a screening process to put limits on the number of issues, with strategy discussed about how to solve it. Right now residents don't have to assume ownership.

I'd hate to see anything happen to C.A.R.E. When it's working it's great. It's the first time I've seen cooperation between citizens and government staff. Bob is the single most important factor in this whole thing so far because of his leadership and ability to get people involved. But now he can't be everywhere.

In Jordan, Bob gave so unselfishly and dealt with the personalities to foster creative solutions, and he successfully managed competing interests. Since I can't control the future of science and clone Bob, I don't know.

C.A.R.E. *will* have to move on. It cannot be maintained in all neighborhoods. There will have to be a grieving process, and residents will have to decide what they are going to commit to.

Top level directors have to be in communication with C.A.R.E.

C.A.R.E. should help residents take a major role in helping to facilitate the meetings. Somehow

the community should take a role in facilitating the meeting if only to use city and county directories to pass out phone numbers for people.

Planning occurs from a middle-class perspective. Simply removing barriers isn't enough.

I think C.A.R.E. should expand the issues dealt with and start dealing with racism, cultural differences, figuring out how we are going to live with people who are different from our old neighbors. It just makes sense for us to learn about each other.

C.A.R.E. needs to pay more attention to how people perceive government. They tend to miss that sometimes. They tend to think government works, but poor people certainly don't think government works. They should be careful to never underestimate the cynicism of poor people regarding government. They should never assume that government works just because they say it works.

We need other models for participating. We can't *require* people to care. We need to understand revitalization in small increments.

They simply cannot expect government to deal with eighty-seven neighborhoods individually. It is not an efficient way of allocating money. It simply is not going to happen.

Both NRP and C.A.R.E. are missing community building in a nonadversarial way. There is a need for some other avenue for people to start exploring differences and learning about their new neighbors.

There should be some kind of checks and balances for accountability.

C.A.R.E. needs continuing connection with the schools. They need to urge schools to be partners at the individual level, at the staff and parent level. They could get room mothers involved.

I would like to see C.A.R.E. become a conduit for taking action during the NRP process. It could keep people's interest up and take care of problems that don't belong in the action plan.

C.A.R.E. needs to find a way to get serious community involvement in the solution of a problem. They have to encourage people to become block club leaders and organize their block. It ought to be an integral part of the C.A.R.E. process. That would make C.A.R.E. and CCP/Safe complimentary. That would help prevent problems from recurring. They have to get neighbors organized - that is the key thing that is missing. C.A.R.E. is in the perfect position to tell people they have to do these things.

C.A.R.E. should explore including labor. They need an integrated work force, and maybe they can include some of the kids. C.A.R.E. needs to explore this.

C.A.R.E. should promote the common good over self-interest.

C.A.R.E. could be an excellent opportunity to learn about each other, learn about different cultures. The city is becoming more diverse and we need to deal with that somehow.

The mother has to let go of her neighborhoods. C.A.R.E. has to phase out of neighborhoods. One hundred meetings should be enough and Jordan is at number seventy-five.

The C.A.R.E. model can be used anywhere, and I think it should be used more in the youth area. Use it in the schools, with student councils so they learn the skills early. Everybody has problems, and everybody needs an advocate.

INTERVENTION COORDINATORS INTERVIEW NOTES

Does C.A.R.E. affect how you do your job? If so, how?

I keep C.A.R.E. completely separate from my job. It has nothing to do with my job. It is strictly volunteer. But there are a lot of rewards. I meet good, caring people who want a better life. We've made these stereotypes about poor people, but they aren't bad people, they do want a better life. I am primarily concerned with the safety of everyone at the meeting. We would go nowhere without support from the precinct, CCP/Safe, Inspections.

Increase in workload and notoriety in the community. It is a tool for working with other divisions. It gives interactions that were never there before. We have new contacts that were never there before.

It has expanded contacts both in the bureaucracy and in the community. It has helped me understand and gather information to identify needs and see that bureaucrats are not so far off. It has resulted in rethinking what the department does: capacity expansion rather than program development.

It is totally separate from my job. It is completely volunteer. I have some knowledge and bring resource to the meeting, but that's it. I do it because I have a moral commitment to the community. I am not happy to see the city deteriorate, and I like to be politically involved but not on the forefront. I like to be behind the scenes seeing things get done. I think C.A.R.E. is heading in the right direction.

I have less time to do my regular job because of my C.A.R.E. IC responsibilities. It is extra volunteer time in the evenings. C.A.R.E. takes time away from my job.

The payback has been tremendous. It keeps people on their toes and improves public relations and relations with other government agencies. Housing Connections is great. C.A.R.E. really is an exchange of information. We can draw in other agencies, like Welfare Fraud. More information is available about the owner, the tenants, type of units, etc. And it helps protect the safety of inspectors if we know ahead of time that it is a suspected drug house.

I wanted more community involvement. Participating in C.A.R.E. would cement it. It grew naturally out of my job.

There is no focus in C.A.R.E. No clear definition of roles.

It makes my job easier because of the meetings of residents deciding on the problems to work on before it gets to me. Where they don't have C.A.R.E. I have to do ABCD, but where there is

C.A.R.E., I just start at D. The neighborhood group took on that responsibility. My work is decreased because of the community involvement chosen to be done by the group.

Before we were not targeting smaller dope houses but trying for big dealers. Now we have to be accountable for the little extra ones where they aren't selling much but basically just do dope. We still do the other stuff too, but need to go after more of the little ones. We have to report back to the meeting, so we've got to check it out. We do get lots of good information from the residents.

I've had to defend C.A.R.E. to my bosses. They didn't understand what I was doing. I think they were afraid I was overstepping my bounds. C.A.R.E. is the only rewarding and exciting part of my job. Through C.A.R.E. I've started talking with others in government. I'm just a natural for C.A.R.E. because C.A.R.E. has compassion for the neighborhoods, allowing it to set the tone for what happens. I love this city, but I'm burned out.

I use the C.A.R.E. contacts in other agencies. At first, involvement was selfish because I wanted to use C.A.R.E. as a way of prioritizing delivery of the resource. I can't get all the work done, so let the neighborhood decide what to do. You may actually accomplish less but get a better public response. It is more labor intensive when you go to the root of the problem.

Have you observed changes in the neighborhood that you attribute to C.A.R.E.? If so, what are they?

There has been a change in attitudes at the meetings. Property owners have been invited and are now more willing to listen to neighborhood concerns and screen tenants. Has it changed the neighborhood? No. But we have resolved some issues there by closing some drug houses, gotten some buildings in compliance, worked on graffiti. Attendance is very good and growing. People are buying it. Inspectors and Safe officers are good. C.A.R.E. meetings seem pretty separate from the neighborhood group.

We have only had three meetings, but I have noticed already that the residents are less hostile toward government people at the meetings.

At the first meeting no one would talk to us (bureaucrats) and that has completely changed. The information level about laws and the system has increased by leaps and bounds and reduced frustration. Residents can see that there are constraints, and that bureaucrats are willing to take action, they care, and will test the limits of those constraints. Residents have gotten to know each other better. The identity of the neighborhood has changed and people are less frightened about that now. It will never be the way it was before and that's okay. They have learned that personal irritations cannot be taken care of by city services. And we cannot take care of some things (party houses, unsupervised children). We have built the feeling that they (residents) have to assume some responsibility such as surveillance, calling 911, contacting property owners, sweeping up glass themselves, etc. CCP/Safe is very good about building up neighborhood commitments. C.A.R.E. has changed the way some people think, especially police officers. It allows for creativity and brings out special people who want that.

Meetings are more of the problems we really want to handle because we are clearer about what issues we'll take and what we won't. Attendance has a steady core, others come and go. There are generally one or two black families per meeting. The neighborhood organization always has things on the agenda and often knows about properties that come up. The issues haven't changed: crummy property, drugs, violence, prostitution, graffiti. CCP/Safe has become more involved. We had to learn each other's style. We meet before each meeting to check on the list of items. C.A.R.E. hasn't resulted in concrete changes in the neighborhood yet, but people trust it more. There is leadership developing separate from the neighborhood organization.

More people are involved and more people care about what happens. But C.A.R.E. had a lot of help with this. CCP/Safe helped tremendously with organizing block clubs, mediation, encouraging attendance at C.A.R.E. meetings, setting up neighborhood walkers. C.A.R.E. has put pressure on property owners. It's really tough, but it takes as long or longer to build a neighborhood back up than it took for it to break down. Safety issues are a big thing. Poor people don't want to live in dumps and the landlords just milk the buildings, never putting any money back into them. But there has been some accountability. The most important thing is that

neighbors have started talking to each other and caring about each other.

We were closing out a lot of properties and taking care of small problems (junked cars, run-down houses) that were resolved. But it doesn't seem like C.A.R.E. is set up for that. I couldn't tell if residents were satisfied.

C.A.R.E. opened the neighborhood organization's eyes about what can be done. It shows how effective government can be. It shifts the focus to what the livability problems really are and encourages residents to take an active part. It has changed attitudes, but not abilities because government people took care of the problem. Residents were given information and told how to follow directions given by government.

Fundamentally, C.A.R.E. has given a voice to a lot of people. It has helped in the organization of the neighborhood and moved from a block club structure to inviting everyone to the table. At C.A.R.E. meetings everyone's input is welcome. Some blocks are so dysfunctional that there may be only a person or two and they are not able to form a block club. They can still come and have a voice. And C.A.R.E. has been involved in concrete successes in the neighborhood.

It didn't have an effect. We couldn't get coordination between the agencies and C.A.R.E.

There have definitely been changes. People get a sense of working together. Neighbors are talking to each other that never had before. We have to build community in this city, and people in the neighborhoods are working together who never have before. They are also working with agencies more than before. C.A.R.E. can help people get along.

The problems haven't changed, and the solutions haven't changed, but the perceptions of people in the neighborhood has changed. They believe the neighborhood is better than it was before because of C.A.R.E. When people think they're getting a response and are a part of the solution that helps the neighborhood. Has crime gone down? No. But they have some control and are part of the solution. I believe there is less of a us-them relationship (residents and bureaucrats). When it does come up it is more of a friendly rivalry rather than hatred.

APPENDIX C: LYNDALE NEIGHBORHOOD SURVEY

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LYNDALE NEIGHBORHOOD SURVEY

Methodology

The Lyndale survey was conducted in the fall by the Minnesota Center for Survey Research at the University of Minnesota. The purpose of the survey was to discover how broad the awareness of C.A.R.E. is throughout the Lyndale neighborhood. We know that there is a core of people who are well-informed about C.A.R.E., and that over two hundred Lyndale residents have attended C.A.R.E. meetings (See Table 5, p. 26.), but there was no indication of how well-known C.A.R.E. is throughout the entire neighborhood. Lyndale was chosen for this survey because out of the four in-depth neighborhoods, it is the one that has participated in C.A.R.E. the longest, and it is generally considered to be an example of a successful C.A.R.E. neighborhood, making the awareness of C.A.R.E. likely to be higher than in other neighborhoods.

Questionnaires were mailed to a random sample four hundred adults in the Lyndale neighborhood, asking them if they had ever heard of C.A.R.E., and if they had, whether their impression was good or poor. (The questionnaire is included on p. 105.) The response rate after three mailings was 36%. In an attempt to improve this response, interviewers conducted a follow-up survey consisting of door-to-door interviews of nonrespondents. This resulted in a final overall response rate of 53% with a final total of 173 completed questionnaires. Even though the respondents contacted in the follow-up differed from those in the mail survey in that there were more renters and people of color, there were no differences in their responses. The follow-up results validated the overall survey results.

Cover Letter

Dear Lyndale Resident,

The Minnesota Center for Survey Research is conducting a study on the Minneapolis neighborhood program, C.A.R.E. (Community and Resource Exchange). The results of this research will be used to make decisions about neighborhood programs in Minneapolis. Information from residents is crucial to the success of this study.

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. The postcard has an identification number for mailing purposes only. All responses will be aggregated as group data.

Please take a moment to fill out the attached card and return it to us. Thanks for your help. If you have any questions, please call Rhonda Petri at 627-4282.

Sincerely,

Rossana Armson, Director
Minnesota Center for Survey Research

Questionnaire

Q1. Have you ever heard of the C.A.R.E.
(Community and Resource Exchange)
program? (Circle one.)

1. YES--> What is your impression
of C.A.R.E.?
2. NO

1. GOOD
2. POOR
3. NO OPINION

Q2. How long have you lived at your
present address?

_____ Years

Q3. Do you rent or own your home?

1. RENT
2. OWN

Q4. What race do you consider yourself?
(Circle one.)

1. American Indian
2. Oriental/Asian
3. Black/African American
4. Hispanic (Chicano/Latino)
5. White/Caucasian
6. Other (Specify) _____

Thank you for your participation.